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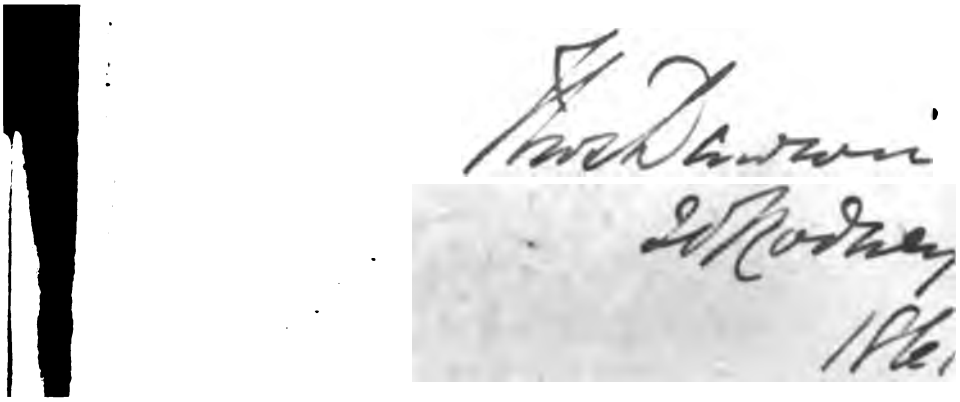
T. Dawson,
Surgeon,
Liverpool.



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V

# TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

# HISTORIC SOCIETY

OF

# LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

NEW SERIES—VOLUME I.

SESSION 1860-61.

LIVERPOOL:
ADAM HOLDEN, 48, CHURCH STREET.

1861.

[Mr. Mayer having increased the number of Illustrations to the Paper on Objects from Peru &c., the whole of which are now forwarded, the following slip is intended to be pasted over that portion of page iii of vol. I, *New Series*, which it is designed to correct.]


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*Erratum.* Page 318, fourth line from the bottom, for *Plate V* read *Plate VIII.*


LIVERPOOL:

T. BRAKELL, PRINTER, COOK STREET.

This Volume has been edited by the Assistant Secretary, under the direction of the Council. The Writers of Papers, however, are alone responsible for the facts and opinions contained in their respective communications.

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## EXPLANATORY NOTE.

Plate I has been prepared at the expense of the Society; all the remainder are presented by Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., &c.

☞ Members (only) can obtain the Volumes of the First Series of the Proceedings and Transactions at the following reduced scale of prices:—

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## ERRATA.

Page 67—Date at top of page, for 1861 read 1860.
„ 327—Eighth line from top, for *Nineteenth* read *Eighteenth*.

## COUNCIL AND OFFICERS FOR 1860-61.

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|---|---|
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* In accordance with Law XX, the Council added the three elected Vice-Presidents, the Librarian and Curator, to all the Sectional Committees.

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# LIST OF MEMBERS.

## SESSION XIII, 1860-61.

The first List was dated 23rd November, 1848; all whose names appeared in it, are therefore Original Members. Those who have been enrolled as Mayors or Sheriffs have their year of office attached.

The letter P denotes that the Members in connexion with whose names it occurs, have read papers before the Society.

Those whose names are printed in SMALL CAPITALS are Members of the Council; and in *italics* are Life Members.

Those marked thus * are Resident. The post town Liverpool is usually omitted.

### A

23rd Nov., 1848. *Ainslie, Montague*, Grizedale, Hawkshead, Windermere.
1st Dec., 1859. Ainslie, P.B., F.S.A. Scot., Guildford.
6th Dec., 1855. *Allcard, William*, 43, Upper Brook street, Grosvenor square, London.
17th Dec., 1857. *Anderson, Thomas Darnley, 5, India buildings, Water street, and West Dingle, Toxteth park.
3rd May, 1849. *Anderson, Thomas Francis, Holly lodge, Fairfield, and 3, Cable street.
4th Dec., 1856. Ansdell, John, St. Helens.
23rd Nov., 1848. Ansdell, Richard, 7, Victoria road, Kensington, London.
15th Sept., 1854. Arrowsmith, P. R., The Ferns, Bolton.
2nd Dec., 1858. Artingstall, George, Warrington.
P. 11th May, 1854. Aspland, Rev. R. Brook, M.A., Frampton villas, South Hackney, London.
P. 9th Oct., 1854. Atherton, Henry, Sutton, Prescot.
H. Sh. Cheshire, 1857. *Atkinson, William*, Ashton heyes, Chester.
23rd Nov., 1848. *AVISON, THOMAS, F.S.A., 18, Cook street, and Fulwood park, Aigburth.

### B

3rd Jan., 1861. *Baar, Hermann, Ph.Dr., 15, Sandon-street.
1st Nov., 1860. *Bairstow, W., Dale-street.
8th June, 1854. *Banning, John Johnson, 20, Castle street.
Mayor Man., 1851-53. Barnes, Robert.
7th Feb., 1861. *Bartlett, William, 22, North John street.
12th Jan., 1860. *Bath, William H. P., 54, Grove street.
P. 6th Dec., 1849. Beamont, William, Warrington.
21st May, 1857. *Bean, Edwin, Revenue buildings.
15th April, 1858. *Bell, Christopher, Back Goree.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Bell, Henry, Hamilton square, and Grosvenor road, Claughton, Birkenhead.
15th Nov., 1854. *Belshaw, John, Wason buildings, 4, Harrington street.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| P. | 9th Dec., 1852. | Benn, Edward, Glenravel, Clough, Belfast. |
| | 23rd Nov., 1848. | *Bennett, William, Sir Thomas's Buildings, and 109, Shaw street. |
| | 3rd Dec., 1857. | *Berry, Percival, 7, Union Court. |
| | 7th March, 1850. | Birch, Sir Thomas Bernard, Bart., The Hazles, Prescot. |
| | 23rd Nov., 1848. | Birchall, Thomas, Ribbleton hall, Preston. |
| | 23rd Nov., 1848. | *Bird, William, 9, South Castle street, and Wood hey, Spittal. |
| | 4th March, 1852. | Birley, Rev. John Shepherd, Halliwell hall, Preston. |
| P. | 8th Jan., 1852. | Birley, T. Langton, Carr hill, Kirkham. |
| | 19th April, 1860. | *Birnie, D. E., 16, North John street, and 47, Church street, Birkenhead. |
| | 6th Dec., 1855. | Black, J., M.D., F.G.S., 2, George's square, Edinburgh. |
| | 23rd Nov., 1848. | Blackburne, John Ireland, The Hall, Hale. |
| | 20th Sept., 1854. | Blackmore, William, 10, Water street, and Hooton, Chester. |
| | 20th Sept., 1854. | *Bloxam, Frederick William, F[3], Liverpool and London Chambers. |
| | 23rd Nov., 1848. | *Blundell, Thomas Weld, Ince Blundell, Great Crosby. |
| P. | 30th Dec., 1854. | Bööck, Frederick Robert Paul, 86, Newman street, Oxford street, London. |
| | 5th May, 1853. | Booth, Benjamin Witham, Swinton, Manchester. |
| | 1st May, 1856. | Booth, John Billington, Overleigh house, Preston. |
| | 15th Dec, 1853. | Bossi, Arthur, Paris. |
| | 31st Sept., 1854. | Bostock, Rev. H., M.A., Grammar School, Warrington. |
| | 3rd Jan., 1856. | *Bouch, Thomas, 1, Oldhall street, and New Brighton. |
| | 23rd Nov., 1848. | *Boult, Francis, Richmond buildings, and Devonshire road, Claughton. |
| P. | 23rd Nov., 1848. | *Boult, Joseph, North John street, and Parkfield road, Aigburth road. |
| | 8th Dec., 1851. | Bourne, Cornelius, Stalmine hall, Preston. |
| | 15th April, 1858. | *Bowers, Anthony, Vauxhall foundry. |
| | 6th Dec., 1855. | Bowes, John, Blue Coat School, Warrington. |
| | 13th Nov., 1851. | Brackstone, R. H., Lyncombe hill, Bath. |
| | 15th Dec., 1853. | Bradbury, Charles, Salford crescent, Manchester. |
| | 17th Dec., 1857. | *Bradley, Thomas, 52, Bold street, and 18, Kenyon terrace, Birkenhead. |
| | 17th Dec., 1857. | *Bradley, William Gibson, 52, Bold street, and 18, Kenyon terrace, Birkenhead. |
| | 23rd Nov., 1848. | *Brakell, Thomas, 7, Cook street, and 23, Richmond terrace, Everton. |
| | Mayor Liv., 1848-9. | *Bramley-Moore, John, Hon. Mem. Archæol. Association, Aigburth. |
| | 30th Dec., 1854. | Brent, Francis, Custom house, Plymouth. |
| P. | 9th March, 1854. | *Bright, Henry Arthur, A.M., Sandheys, West Derby, and 1, North John street. |
| | 3rd May, 1849. | Brooke, Henry, Forest hill, Northwich. |

| | |
|---|---|
| 6th March, 1851 | *Brooke Richard, jun*, Norton Priory, Runcorn |
| 23rd Nov., 1848. | *Brown, William*, Richmond buildings, Chapel street, and Richmond hill, VICE PRESIDENT. |
| 15th March, 1855. | *BROWNE, G. MANSFIELD, 15, South hill, Park road. |
| 11th Sept., 1854. | *BURKE, WILLIAM, 17, Bagot street, Smithdown road, TREASURER. |
| 17th Sept., 1854 | Burnell, Rev. Samuel, A.M., Winwick, Warrington. |
| P. 15th Dec., 1853. | *BUXTON, DAVID, F.R.S.L., Principal of the Liverpool Deaf and Dumb Institution, Oxford street, LIBRARIAN. |

C

| | |
|---|---|
| 23rd Nov., 1848 | *Caine, Nathaniel, 12, Dutton street |
| 3rd Dec., 1857 | Calder, Rev. William, A.M., Holly road, Fairfield |
| 1st Dec., 1859. | Callender, W. Romaine, jun., F.S.A., Ashburne house, Rusholme, Manchester |
| P. 6th Dec., 1855 | Calvert, F. Crace, Ph.Dr., F.R.S., F.C.S., M.R.A. Turin, Royal Institution, Manchester |
| 23rd Nov., 1848 | Campbell, Rev. Augustus, A.M., 131, Duke street, and The Vicarage, Childwall |
| 18th Dec., 1856 | *Campbell, Captain William, R.L.A. |
| 4th April, 1850 | *Carlisle, His Excellency The Earl of*, K.G., Castle Howard, Yorkshire, and The Castle, Dublin |
| 18th Dec., 1856 | Cartwright, Samuel, Bushell place, Preston |
| 6th Dec., 1859. | *Casson, William, 39, Parliament street, and 3, Great George square |
| 27th Sept., 1854 | *Casey, George, Naylor street, and Walton |
| 3rd Dec., 1857 | *Chadburn, Charles Henry, 71, Lord street, and Egremont, Birkenhead |
| 15th April, 1858. | Chaloner, Thomas, 26, North John street, and College street South |
| 14th Sept., 1854. | Chantrell, G. F., 1, Hatton garden |
| H. Sh. Chesh. 1855-6. | *Chapman, John*, Hill End, Mottram in Longdendale |
| 21st May, 1857 | Cheetham, John, Eastwood, Stalybridge. |
| | CHESHIRE, THE HIGH SHERIFF OF, VICE-PRESIDENT, *ex officio* |
| 2nd June, 1853 | *Chester, The Lord Bishop of*, The Palace, Chester |
| 23rd Nov., 1858. | Clare, John Leigh, 11, Exchange buildings, and Richmond terrace, Brock road |
| 14th April, 1859 | *Clement, Leonard*, Trinity terrace, Bar Jey |
| 17th Dec., 1857 | Coates, Rev. W. H., Neston, Cheshire |
| 10th Nov., 1854 | Colston, Rev. John, Quarry bank, Wilmslow, Manchester |
| 24th May, 1855 | Comber, Thomas |
| 23rd Nov., 1848 | *Conway, John, Cable street |
| 15th April, 1858 | Cooke, A. |
| 18th Dec., 1856 | Corser, Rev. Thomas, A.M., Stand, Manchester |
| 23rd Nov., 1848. | Coulthart, John Ross, F.S.A. Scot., Croft house, Ashton under Lyne |
| 21st May, 1857 | *Cresswell, Right Hon. Sir Cresswell*, 21, Prince's gate, London, and Fleming house, Old Brompton, Middlesex. |

6th Dec., 1849. *Crosfield, Henry, 4, Temple place, and Edge mount, Edge lane.
23rd Nov., 1848. Crosse, Thomas Bright, Shawe hill, Chorley.
2nd May, 1850. Crossley, James, F.S.A., President of the Chetham Society, Booth street, Piccadilly, Manchester.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Cust, Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. Sir Edward, K.C.H., D.C.L., F.R.S., Leasowe Castle, Cheshire, Claremont, Surrey, and Hill-street, London, President.

D

8th Dec., 1851. Dale, Rev. Peter Steele, A.M., Mytholme lodge, Hollin's Green, Warrington.
23rd Sept., 1854. *Davies, Comenius, 110, Paddington, Edge hill.
6th March, 1856. Daw, Robert, F.B.S.E., &c., Saxby rectory, Barton-on-Humber.
23rd Nov, 1848 *_Dawson, Henry_, 30, Redcross street, and 14, St. James's road.
2nd May, 1850. *Dawson, Thomas, 20, Rodney street.
23rd Nov., 1848. Dearden, James, F.S.A., Rochdale Manor, Lancashire, and Upton house, Poole.
6th April, 1850. De Tabley, The Lord, Tabley hall, Cheshire.
23rd April, 1857. _Devonshire, The Duke of_, K.G., D.C.L., F.R.S., Chatsworth, Derbyshire, and Devonshire house, London.
7th May, 1851. *_Dickinson, Joseph_, M.A., M.D., F.R.C.P., F.R.S., F.L.S., M.R.I.A., 92, Bedford street South.
P. 20th Dec., 1855. Dobson, William, Chronicle office, Preston.
P. 7th March, 1853. *Dove, Percy M., F.S.S., F I.A., Royal Insurance Office, 1, North John street, and Castleden lodge, Claughton road, Birkenhead.
4th Nov., 1858. *Drysdale, C. Alexander, 7, Elm terrace, Fairfield.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Duarte, Ricardo Thomaz, 2, Royal bank buildings.
13th Sept., 1854. *Duncan, Thomas, 44, West Derby street.

E

1st Jan. 1857. *Eaton, Francis James, Richmond terrace, Breck road, and 18, Queen Insurance buildings.
9th Dec., 1852. Eckersley, Thomas, Wigan.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. _Egerton, Sir Philip De Malpas Grey_, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., F.G.S., Oulton park, Tarporley.
7th Jan. 1858. _Egerton, Hon. Wilbraham_, M.P., Rostherne hall, Knutsford.
6th April, 1850. _Ellesmere, The Earl of_, Worsley hall, Manchester, and Bridgewater house, London.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Evans, Edward, 56, Hanover street.
4th Nov., 1858. *Evans, Edward Francis, Church road, Stanley.
15th Sept., 1854. *Evans, H. Sugden, F.C.S.
8th Nov., 1849. *Evans, Thomas Bickerton, 56, Hanover street.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Ewart, Joseph Christopher, M.P., 64, Pall Mall, London, and New Brighton.
6th May, 1852. _Ewart William_, M.P., 6, Cambridge square, Hyde park, London, and Broadleas, Devizes.

F.

7th Feb., 1861. *Fabert, J. O. W., 3, St. James's walk.
3rd Dec., 1857. Fairbairn, William, F.R.S., Manchester.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Finlay, William, Collegiate Institution.
15th April, 1858. *Forrest. J. A., 58, Lime street, and 8, Cleveland street, Birkenhead.
5th Dec., 1850. *Forster, Wilson, New Ferry terrace, Rock Ferry, and 36, Dale street
23rd Sept., 1854. *Forwood, T. B., 11, Dale street, and The Hollies, Fairfield.
7th May, 1857. *Frackelton, Rev. S. S.*, A.M., Ballynahinch, Ireland.
15th Dec., 1853. Franks, Augustus Wollaston, A.M., F.S.A., British Museum, London.
6th Jan, 1853. *French, Gilbert James*, F.S A., Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., Bolton.
7th Jan., 1858. Frost, Meadows, 25, Albany, Oldhall street, and St. John's House, Chester.

G

14th Dec, 1848. *Gardner, Richard Cardwell, Colonial buildings, 34, Dale street, and Newsham house.
3rd May, 1849. Garnett, Wm. Jas., M.P., Bleasdale tower, Garstang.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Gaskell, John Rooth, Exchange court, Exchange street East.
7th Feb., 1859. *Gath, Samuel, 45, Shaw street, Everton.
18th Dec., 1856. *Gerard Henry, 10, Rumford place.
P. 20th Nov., 1856. *Gibson, A. Craig, Lower Bebington, Birkenhead, Curator.
7th March, 1850. *Gill, Robert, I, Chapel street, and Much Woolton.
3rd Dec., 1857. Gleadowe, Rev. R. W., A.M., Neston Vicarage, Cheshire.
15th April, 1858. *Glover, John, 26, Hanover street.
9th Dec., 1852. *Graves, Samuel Robert, 13, Redcross street.
21st Sept., 1854. Gray, Rev. R. H., A.M., Kirkby, Prescot.
14th Dec., 1848. Gray, Thomas, Manager and Secretary, Unity Insurance Office, London.
6th Feb., 1851. Gray, William, M.P., Darcy Lever hall, Bolton.
2nd Dec., 1858. *Greame, Malcolm, Colonial buildings, Dale street.
16th Sept., 1854. *Green, Thomas, Richmond buildings, Chapel street.
23rd Nov., 1848. Greenall, Rev. Richard, A.M., Incumbent of Stretton, R. D., Stretton, Warrington.
16th Sept., 1854. Greene, John Stock Turner, Myddleton hall, Warrington.
31st Aug., 1854. Grenside, Rev. William Bent, A.M., Melling Vicarage, Lancaster.
19th March, 1857. *Grimmer, W. Henry, Delta Chambers, Cable-st.
8th Nov., 1849. *Guyton, Joseph, Derwent road, Stoneycroft.

## H

21st May, 1857. *Hall, Charlton R., 18, Dale street, and Liscard castle, Birkenhead.
10th Dec., 1857. *Hancock, Thomas S., Sweeting street, and Birkenhead.
15th April, 1858. Harding, J., Maghull.
P. 6th March, 1856. Hardwick, Charles, Preston, and 100, City road, Manchester.
5th May, 1853. Harrison, William, Rock mount, St. John's, Isle of Man.
12th Jan., 1854. *Harrison, William*, F.S.A., F.G.S. &c., Galligreaves, house, Blackburn.
9th Dec., 1852. *Harrison, Henry Walter, 27, Castle street.
9th Feb., 1854. *Harrowby, The Earl of*, D.C.L., F.R.S., Sandon hall, Staffordshire, and 39, Grosvenor square, London.
23rd April, 1857. *Hartington, The Marquess of*, M.P., Chatsworth, Derbyshire, and Devonshire house, London.
10th Feb., 1853. **Hartley, John Bernard*, The Grove, Allerton, and Dock Yard, South Quay, Coburg Dock.
P. 11th Oct., 1854. *Hartnup, J., F.R.A.S., Observatory.
23rd Nov., 1848. Hawkins, Edward, F.R.S., V.P.S.A., F.L.S., British Museum, London.
27th Sept., 1854. *Healey, Samuel R., 48, Castle street, and Westbank, Woolton.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Heath, Edward, Orange court, Castle street, and San Domingo grove, Everton.
24th Oct., 1854. Heginbottom, George, Albert terrace, Ashton-under-Lyne.
11th May, 1854. Henderson, Ebenezer, LL.D., Greenbank, St. Helens.
8th May, 1856. *Henderson, William, 13, Church street, and Rock park, Birkenhead.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Heywood, James*, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., 26, Kensington Palace gardens, London, W.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Heywood, Sir Benjamin*, Bart., F.R.S., F.S.S., Claremont, Manchester.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Heywood, Thomas*, F.S.A., Hope end, Ledbury, Herefordshire
P. 4th Jan., 1849. *Hibbert, Thomas Dorning, 19, Sackville street, Everton.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Higgin, Edward, Sweeting street.
P. 12th Sept., 1854. Higgins, Rev. Henry H., A.M., Rainhill.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. Hill, Rev. John Wilbraham, A.M., Waverton, Cheshire.
P. 21st Sept., 1854. Hill, Samuel, Birmingham.
26th April, 1855. Hinde, Rev. Edmund, A.M., St. Stephen's, Salford.
P. 8th Dec., 1851. Hinde, John Hodgson, Stelling Hall, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
23rd Sept., 1854. *Hindmarsh, Fred.*, F.G.S., F.R.G.S., Bucklersbury, London.
1st Dec., 1859. *Hodgkin, John Eliot, Hayman's green, West Derby.

12th Jan., 1860. *Holden, Adam, 48, Church street.
18th Dec., 1856. *Holden Thomas*, Springfield, Bolton.
9th Feb., 1860. *Holt, George E.
24th Sept., 1854. *Holt, William D., 23, Edge hill.
10th May, 1860. *Hornby, Gerard, 177, Breck road, and 36, South Castle street.
7th May, 1857. *Horner, W., 34, South Castle street, and Eldon house, Oxton.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Horsfall, Thomas Berry, M.P., Bellamore hall, Staffordshire.
6th Dec., 1860. *Houghton, James, 84, Rodney street.
14th April, 1853. **Houghton, Richard H., jun.*, Sandheys, Waterloo.
4th Dec., 1856. *Howell, Edward, 6, Church street.
P. 8th Nov., 1849. *Howson, Rev. John Saul, D.D., Principal of the Collegiate Institution.
27th Sept., 1854. *Hubback, Joseph, 1, Brunswick street, and Aighurth.
P. 10th Dec., 1857. *Hughes, John R., 21, Clevedon street, Park road.
14th Sept., 1854. *Hughes, Joseph, 2, Upper Duke street, and 9, Brownlow hill.
16th Sept., 1854. *Hughes, J. B., 77, Mill street, and 4, Clayton-square.
6th April, 1854. Hughes, Thomas, 2, Groves terrace, Chester.
8th Feb., 1852. Hulton, William Adams, Hurst Grange, Preston.
Mayor Ch., 1851-52. Humberston, Philip Stapleton, M.P., Chester.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Hume, Rev. Abraham, D.C.L., LL.D, F.S.A., F.R.S. North Ant. Copenhagen, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., Hon. Mem. of the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 24, Clarence street, Everton, Hon. Secretary.
21st May, 1857. *Hume, Hamilton*, F.R.G.S, Cooma, Yass, New South Wales.
6th Jan., 1859. *Hunt, Richard, 9, Castle street, and San Domingo vale, Breck road North.
9th Dec., 1853. *Hutchison, Robert, 12, Sweeting street, and 6, Canning street.

I

9th Oct., 1854. Ingham, Rev. Thomas Barker, A.M., Rainhill.

J

1st April, 1852. *Jacob, John Gibborn, 56, Church street, and 20, Clarence street, Everton.
23rd Nov., 1848. Jacson, Charles R., Barton Lodge, Preston.
15th April, 1858. *Jago, J. R., Revenue Buildings.
2nd May, 1861. *Jeffery, F. J., Lodge lane.
21st May, 1857. *Jeffery, James Reddecliff, 45, Church street, and 11, Lodge lane.
23rd Nov., 1854. *Jeffery, William Reddecliff, 45, Church street, and 15, Deane street.
18th Sept., 1854. *Johnson, Henry, Rice lane, Walton.
23rd Nov., 1848. Johnson, John H., 7, Church street, and Southport.
11th Dec., 1856. Jones, W. Hope, Hooton, Chester.
23rd Sept., 1854. Jones, Edward, The Larches, Handsworth.

3rd Jan., 1861. *Jones, George, 36, Hanover street.
3rd May, 1849. *Jones, Morris Charles, 75, Shaw street.
2nd Dec., 1858. *Jones, Robert, 7, Batchelor street.
6th Dec., 1849. *Jones, Roger Lyon, 1, Belvedere road, Prince's park, and Liverpool and London Chambers.
15th Sept., 1854. Jones, Thomas, B.A., Chetham Library, Manchester.

K

23rd Nov., 1848. *Kendall, Thomas, Rumford place, and Green lane, Wavertree.
P. 3rd May, 1849. KENDRICK, JAMES, M.D., Warrington.
11th Dec., 1856. Kershaw, James, M.P., Oaklands, Victoria park, Manchester.
21st May, 1857. *Kitchen, Joseph, Exchange street East, and Oak house, West Derby.

L

14th March, 1852. *Lambert, David Howe, 5, India buildings, and Rock Park, Rock Ferry.
LANCASHIRE, THE HIGH SHERIFF OF, VICE PRESIDENT, *ex-officio*.
23rd Nov., 1848. Langton, William, Manchester.
21st Sept., 1854. *Lea, James, Egremont, Cheshire.
23rd Nov., 1848. Legh, G. Cornwall, M.P., High Legh, Knutsford.
1st Dec., 1859. *Legh, W. J.*, M.P., Lyme park, Disley, Stockport.
2nd May, 1861. *Leicester, Rev. Robert, A.M.
10th Dec., 1857. *Leigh, Major Egerton*, The West hall, High Leigh, Knutsford.
15th April, 1858. Leithead, H. F., Malpas, Truro.
4th March, 1858. Lindsay, The Lord, M.P., Haigh hall, Wigan.
23rd Nov., 1848. Lingard, Alexander Rowson, Hooton, Chester.
*LIVERPOOL, THE MAYOR OF, VICE-PRESIDENT, *ex-officio*, (S. R. Graves, Esq.)
14th Dec., 1848. *Lloyd, John Buck, 54, Castle street, and Aigburth.
6th Jan., 1853. *Longton, John, Peter's place, Rumford street, and Breck road.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Lord, Lieut. William*, R.N., Southdown cottage, Weymouth.

M

14th Feb., 1861. McGill, Robert, Copperas hill, St. Helens.
15th April, 1858. *McInnes, J., 21, Neptune street.
P. 3rd March, 1853. *Macintyre, Peter, M.D., 128, Duke street.
27th Sept., 1854. *Macfie, Robert Andrew, 30, Moorfields, and Ashfield hall, Neston.
21st May, 1857. M'Nicholl, David Hudson, M.D., Southport.
23rd Nov., 1848. *M'QUIE, PETER ROBINSON, 14, Water street, and Low hill.
5th May, 1853. **Macrae, John Wrigley*, 22, Hackin's hey, and Seaforth House, Seaforth.
6th Dec., 1849. *M'Vicar, Duncan, Abercromby square, and 7, Exchange buildings.
3rd Jan., 1849. *Manchester, The Lord Bishop of*, F.R.S., F.G.S., F.R.S. North. Ant. Copenhagen, Mauldeth hall, Manchester.

23rd Nov., 1848. Markland, James Heywood, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Bath.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Marsden, George, Vernon Priory, Edge hill.
1st Dec., 1859. Marsh, John, St. Helens.
P. 5th June, 1841. Marsh, John Fitchett, Fairfield house, Warrington.
1st Jan., 1857. Marshall, W.
9th March, 1854. *Mason, William Ithell, 14, Lower Hope place.
15th April, 1858. Mawdsley, H., Southport.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Mayer, Joseph, F.S.A., M.R. Asiat. S., F.E.S., F.R.S. North. Ant. Copenhagen, Associé étranger de la Société Impériale des Antiquaires de France, Hon. Mem. SS. Anti., Normandie, l'Ouest, and la Morinie, de la Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville, &c., 68, Lord street, Vice-President.
17th Feb., 1850. Mayer, Samuel, Newcastle-under-Lyne.
10th Feb., 1859. Meaden, Henry Peter, Haslingden.
P. 15th April, 1858. *Mercer, Nathan, F.C.S., 7, Church street.
10th Feb., 1859. Mewburn, John, Union Bank, and Hale.
P. 6th Dec., 1849. Middleton, Captain James, F.S.A.
21st Feb., 1861. Mills, John, Middle School, Warrington.
10th May, 1860. Mills, Robert, F.S.A., F.G.S, Shawclough, near Rochdale.
P. 31st Dec., 1854. *Milner, William, 322, Upper Parliament street, and Phœnix Safe Works, Windsor.
P. 1st Dec., 1859. *Mitchell, T. R., M.D., 26, Bedford street South.
3rd Dec, 1857. Moore, Rev. Richd. R., B.A., Harworth, Rotheram.
P. 8th Nov., 1849. *Moore, Rev. Thomas, A.M., 65, Oxford street.
18th Dec., 1856. Moseley, Thomas Beeby.
15th April, 1858. *Moss, J. B., 34, West Derby street.
P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Moss, Rev. John James, A.M., Upton, Cheshire.
P. 7th March, 1850. *Mott, Albert J., Jackson chambers, South Castle street, and Holt hill, Birkenhead.
3rd Dec., 1857. *Moult, William, 21, Leigh street, and Knowsley.
21st May, 1857. *Mozley, Charles, Beaconsfield, Woolton.
11th Dec., 1856. Myres, John James, Bank parade, Preston.

N

H.S. Ches., 1857. *Naylor, Richard*, Hooton, Cheshire.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Neill, Hugh, F.R.A.S., L.R.C.P., 6, Abercromby square.
15th April, 1858 *Newlands, J., Public Offices, Cornwallis street.
P. 6th Dec., 1855. *Newton, John, M.R.C.S, 13, West Derby street.
23rd Nov., 1848. Nicholson, James, F.S.A., Thelwall hall, Warrington.
29th Sept., 1854. *Nottingham, John, M.D., F.R.S. North. Ant. Copenhagen, 18, Roscommon street.

O

2nd Jan., 1851. *Oates, Captain W. C.*, Cavendish place, Bath.
P. 6th Dec., 1849. Ormerod, George, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., Sedbury park, Chepstow.
6th Feb., 1851. Osborne, John James, Macclesfield.
3rd Jan., 1850. *Overend, James, 55, Hope street.

3rd Dec., 1857. Oxley, Frederick, 31, John street, Bedford row, London, W.C.

P

23rd Nov., 1848. *Paris, Thomas Jeremiah, 68, Lord street.
3rd Jan., 1850. *Parker, Charles Stewart, Bank chambers, Cook street.
18th Dec., 1856. Parker, Robert Townley, Cuerdon hall, Preston.
7th March, 1850. *Patten, John Wilson*, M.P., Bank hall, Warrington.
2nd Nov., 1854. Patterson, Andrew, Principal of the Deaf and Dumb Institution, Manchester.
9th Oct., 1854 *Peacock, John, 2, Chapel street.
6th Dec., 1849. Pearce, George Massie, Hackin's hey, and Ormskirk.
11th Dec., 1856. *Pedder, Henry Newsham*, Preston.
23rd Nov., 1848. Pedder, Richard, Winckley square, Preston.
8th Dec., 1851. Perrin, Joseph, 63, Wellington road North, Stockport.
21st March, 1861. Petty, Thomas Shaw, Preston.
P. 6th Jan., 1849. *Picton, James Allanson, F.S.A., Queen Insurance buildings, Dale street, and Sandyknowe, Wavertree, Vice-President.
3rd May, 1849. Pierpoint, Benjamin, St. Austin's, Warrington.
23rd Nov., 1858. Pilkington, James, M.P., Park place, Blackburn.
10th Feb., 1853. *Platt, Robert*, Stalybridge.
6th Dec., 1849. *Poole, John, 23, Oxford street.
29th Dec., 1854. Porter, Rev. James, A.M., St. Peter's College, Cambridge.
12th March, 1857. *Preston, Geo. Theo. Robert, 13, Vernon street, Dale street, and Rock house, West Derby road.
6th Dec., 1849. *Preston, William, 13, Vernon street, and Rock house, West Derby road.

R

23rd Sept., 1854. *Rathbone, William, 24, Water street, and Greenbank, Wavertree.
15th March, 1849. Rawlinson, Robert, C.E., F.G.S., 34, Parliament street, Westminster, and 17, Ovington square, Brompton, London.
13th Sept., 1854. *Raynes, James Trevelyan, 37, Oldhall street, and Rock park, Rock Ferry.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Reay, James, Guardian office, Commerce court, Lord street.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Reay, Thomas, 87, Church street.
29th Dec., 1854. Rees, William, Old Trafford, Manchester.
14th Dec., 1848. *Robin, John, Chapel walks, South Castle street, and Grove hill, West Kirby, Birkenhead.
20th Dec., 1855. Robin, Rev. P. R., A.M., Barnston, Birkenhead.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Robinson, Charles Backhouse, 12, Myrtle street, and Matilda grove, Aigburth.
P. 3rd May, 1849. Robson, John, M.D., Warrington.
3rd Jan., 1850. *Ronald, Robert Wilson, 19, Dale street.

15th April, 1858. Rooke, Rev. W. J. E., Tunstal Vicarage, Kirkby Lonsdale.
15th April, 1858. Rowlinson, W., Windermere.
14th April, 1853. *Ryder, Thos. Bromfield, 2, Elliot street, Clayton square.
25th Sept. 1854. Rylands, Peter, Bewsey house, Warrington.
P. 13th Dec., 1854. Rylands, Thomas Glazebrook, Warrington.

S

3rd Jan., 1861. Samuelson, Edward, Huyton.
6th Dec., 1855. *Sandbach, W. R., Bank buildings, Cook street, and The Cottage, Aigburth.
P. 19th Sept., 1854. Sansom, Rev. John, B.A., Buslingthorp Rectory, Market Rasen.
P. 7h Sept., 1851. *Sansom Thomas, A.L.S., F.B.S.E., 18, Breckfield road South, Everton.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Scholfield, Henry D., M.D., 14, Hamilton square, Birkenhead.
8th Jan., 1852. Sharp, John, The Hermitage, Lancaster.
2nd June, 1853. *Sharp, William*, 102, Piccadilly, London.
23rd Nov., 1848. Sharpe, Edmund, A.M., Coedfa, Llanrwst, North Wales.
1st Dec., 1855. *Shawe, J. R., Arrowe hall, Birkenhead.
7th Feb., 1850. *Sherlock, Cornelius, 22, King street.
11th Feb., 1858. *Shute, Arthur, 21, Water street.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Simpson, Rev. Samuel*, A.M., St. Thomas's Parsonage, Douglas, Isle of Man.
23rd Nov., 1848. Skaife, Thomas, Vanbrugh house, Blackheath, London.
2nd May, 1850. **Smith, James*, Seaforth.
16th Sept., 1854. Smith, John, Langley, near Macclesfield.
6th Jan., 1853. *Smith, William Penn, 26, Hanover street.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Snowball, J. G., 10, Castle street, and 11, Upper Canning street.
2nd Nov., 1854. Stainer, William, Old Trafford, Manchester.
3rd Jan., 1856. *Staniforth. Rev. Thomas*, Storrs, Windermere.
13th Dec., 1855. *Steiner, F.*, Hyndburn, Accrington.
1st Jan., 1856. *Steains, James.
30th Dec., 1854. *Stewart, James Gordon, Woodlands, Clifton park, Birkenhead.
5th June, 1850. *Stock, John, 7, Exchange buildings, and Westdale, Wavertree.
8th Nov., 1849. *Stuart, William, 1, Rumford place, and Springfield house, Knotty Ash.
23rd Nov., 1848. *Sutton, Hugh Gaskell, Exchange court, Exchange street East, and Beech wood, Aigburth.
4th March, 1852. *Sykes, James, Colonial buildings, 34, Dale street, and Breck house, Poulton-le-fylde.

T

6th Dec., 1860. *Taylor, Rev. W. F., LL.D., 61, Everton road.
1st Dec., 1859. Thicknesse, Rev. T. H., Dean Vicarage, Bolton.

P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *_Thom, Rev. David_, D.D., Ph.D., 28, Erskine street.
15th April, 1858. *Thomas, George.
18th Feb., 1858. *Thompson, Henry, 153, Upper Parliament street, and 11, North John street.
P. 8th Dec., 1851. Thornber, Rev. William, B.A., Blackpool.
13th Sept., 1854. *Thornely, Samuel, 31, Edge lane.
8th Dec., 1851. *Tinne, John A., F.R.G.S., Bank buildings, and Briarley, Aigburth.
Mayor Liv. 1854-5. *Tobin, James Aspinall, 57, South John street.
14th Dec., 1848. Tobin, Sir Thomas, F.S.A., Ballincollig, Cork.
8th Jan., 1852. *Torr, John, 15, Exchange buildings, and Eastham.
H. S. Lanc., 1857. Towneley, Charles, Towneley hall, Burnley.
P. 2nd April, 1857. *Towson, John Thomas, F.R.G.S., 47, Upper Parliament street, and Sailors' Home.
14th April, 1853. *Turner, Charles, M.P., 4, Lancelot's hey, and Dingle head.
27th Sept., 1854. *Turner, John Hayward, 23, Abercromby square.
6th Dec., 1849. Turner, Edward, High street, Newcastle, Staffordshire.
16th Dec., 1858. *Tuton, E. S., 48, Lime street.

U

8th March, 1854. *Underwood, Rev. Charles W., A.M., Vice-Principal, Collegiate Institution.

V

23rd Nov., 1848. *_Varty, Thomas_, Walpole villa, Fairfield, and Lime street.
14th April, 1853. *Vose, James, M.D., 5, Gambier terrace, Hope street.

W.

Myr. C. 1838-39, 48-49. *Walker, Sir Edward Samuel*, Berry hill, Mansfield, Notts.
11th Dec., 1856. Walmsley, Thomas, Preston.
6th March, 1851. Warburton, Rowland Eyles Egerton, Arley hall, Cheshire.
21st May, 1857. Ward, John Angus, Hooton lodge, Chester.
10th Dec., 1857. Wardell, William, Abbotsfield, Chester.
6th June, 1850. *Waterhouse, Sebastian, 37, Catharine street.
26th Sept., 1854. *Watling, J. W. H., Wavertree.
5th Feb., 1857. *Watt, Richard*, Speke hall.
17th Dec., 1857. Watts, Sir James, Manchester.
2nd May, 1850. *Way, Albert*, A.M., F.S.A., Wonham manor, Reigate, Surrey.
1st Feb., 1849. *Webster, George, 6, York buildings, Dale street, and Mosley hill, Aigburth.
P. 3rd Jan., 1856. *Welton, Thos. A.*, F.S.S., 13, Cumming street, Pentonville, London.
6th Dec., 1860. White, Charles, M.R.C.S., Warrington.
2nd June, 1853. *Whitley, George, 5, Clayton square, and Bromborough.
9th Oct., 1854. Whitley, Rev. John, A.M., Newton rectory, Warrington.

6th June, 1850. Whitley, Rev. William, B.A, Catsclough, Winsford, Cheshire.
P. 30th Nov., 1851. Wilkinson, Thomas Turner, F.R.A.S., Corr. Mem. Lit. and Phil. Soc. Manch., Burnley.
8th Jan., 1852. *Willoughby, Edward G., Marine Cottage, Tranmere.
6th Dec., 1855. Wilson, G., F.R.S., Belmont, Vauxhall, London.
14th Feb., 1861. Wilson, J. M., Copperas hill, St. Helens.
3rd Jan., 1861. *Wilson, John, 30, West Derby street.
20th Dec., 1860. *Wood, G. S., 20, Lord street.
23rd Nov., 1848. Wood, Venerable Isaac, A.M., Archdeacon of Chester, Newton, near Middlewich.
23rd Nov., 1848. Wood, Isaac Moreton, A.M., Newton, near Middlewich.
10th Feb., 1853. *Wood, Thomas, B.A., Blue Coat Hospital.
7th May, 1851. **Woodhouse, John George*, 117, Henry street.
30th Dec., 1854. Worthy, George Smith, Bristol.

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## HONORARY MEMBERS.

6th Feb., 1851. Akerman, John Yonge, Sec. S.A.; Hon. M.R.S.L.; F.S.A. Newcastle; F.R.S. of Northern Antiquities; Corr. Mem. SS. Antiq. Scot., France, Russia, Switzerland, Rome; Hon. Mem. Roy. Acad., Stockholm; Somerset House, London.
27th Sept., 1854. Babington, Charles Cardale, A.M., F.R.S., F.L.S., Sec. C.P.S., St. John's College, Cambridge.
6th Feb., 1851. Blaauw, William Henry, A.M., F.S.A., Beechland, Uckfield.
6th Feb., 1851. Boileau, Sir John P., Bart., F.R.S., F.S.A., Ketteringham hall, Wyndham, Norfolk, and 20, Upper Brook street, Grosvenor square, London.
27th Sept., 1854. Brewster, Sir David, K.H., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.SS.L. and E., Hon. M.R.I.A., St. Andrew's, N.B., and Allerby, Roxburghshire.
1st Nov., 1860. Brown, James, New York, U.S.A.
6th Feb., 1851. Charlton, Edward, M.D., F.S.A. Newc., 7, Eldon square, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
P. 1st Feb., 1855. Clarke, Joseph, F.S.A., Saffron Walden, Essex.
19th May, 1859. Cochet, M. L' Abbé, Inspector of Antiquities and Monuments in Normandy, Dieppe.
8th Jan., 1852. De Perthes, J. Boucher de Crevecœur, Chevalier des ordres de Malte et de la Légion d'honneur, membre de diverses Sociétés Savantes, Abbeville.
6th Feb., 1851. Duncan, Philip B., D.C.L., Oxford.
27th Sept., 1854. Gray, John Edward, Ph.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., V.P.Z.S., Pres. Entom. Soc., &c., British Museum, London.

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| P. | 27th Sept., 1854. | Latham, R. Gordon, M.D., F.R.S., Greenford, Middlesex. |
| | 9th Dec., 1852. | MacAdam, Robert, 18, College square, Belfast. |
| | 27th Sept., 1854. | Murchison, Sir Roderick Impey, G.C.St.S., A.M., D.C.L., F.R.S., V.P.L.S., F.G.S., V.P.R. Geogr. S., Hon. M.R.I.A., Director-General of the Geological Survey of Great Britain and Ireland; Trust. Brit. Mus.; Hon. Mem. Acadd. St. Petersburgh, Berlin, Copenhagen; Corr. Mem. Inst. France, &c., 16, Belgrave square, London. |
| | 27th Sept., 1854. | Owen, Richard, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S., British Museum, London. |
| P. | 7th May, 1851. | Pidgeon, Henry Clarke, 3, Westbourne villas, Harrow road, London. |
| | 27th Sept., 1854. | Phillips, John, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., Pres. Geol. Soc., Reader in Geology, Oxford. |
| | 27th Sept., 1854. | Rosse, The Earl of, K.P., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.R.A.S., F.G.S., Birr Castle, Parsonstown, Ireland. |
| | 27th Sept., 1854. | Sabine, Major-General Edward, R.A., D.C.L., Treas. and V.P.R.S., F.R.A.S, 13, Ashley place, Victoria street, London, and Woolwich. |
| | 27th Sept., 1854. | Sedgwick, Rev. Adam, A.M., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.R.A.S., Hon. M.R.I.A., Woodwardian Professor, Trinity College, Cambridge. |
| P. | 6th Feb., 1851. | Smith, Charles Roach, F.S.A., Member of the Roy. Soc. North. Antiq. Copenhagen; Hon. Mem. SS. Antiq., France, Normandy, Scotland, Spain, Newcastle, the Morinie, Abbeville, Picardy, Wiesbaden, Luxemburg, Treves, Touraine, &c., Temple place, Strood, Kent. |
| | 6th Feb., 1851. | Turnbull, William B., F.S.A. Scot., 3, Stone buildings, Lincoln's Inn, London. |
| | 27th Sept., 1854. | Whewell, Rev. William, D.D.., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.R.A.S., Hon. M.R.I.A., Corr. Mem. of the Institute of France, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. |
| | 6th Feb., 1851. | Williams, Rev. John, A.M., Llanymowddwy, Dinas, Mowddwy, Shrewsbury. |
| | 6th Feb., 1851. | Willis, Rev. Robert, A.M., F.R.S., Jacksonian Professor, Cambridge, and 23, York terrace, Regent's park, London. |
| P. | 27th Sept., 1854. | Wright, Thomas, A.M., F.S.A., Hon. M.R.S.L., Member of the Institute of France; of the Roy. Soc. North. Antiqs. Copenhagen; Hon. Mem. of the Soc. of Antiquaries of France; Corresp. Mem. Soc. Antiq. Normandy; of Soc. Antiqs. Scotland, &c., 14, Sydney street, Brompton, London. |

# TRANSACTIONS.

## ON THE POPULAR CUSTOMS AND SUPERSTITIONS OF LANCASHIRE.

*By T. T. Wilkinson, F.R.A.S., &c., &c.*

(Read 10th January, 1861.)

### Part III.

The Lancashire Witches and their practices are too well known to require a lengthened description. Their repute appears to have culminated in the days of our "English Solomon," James I, and they flourished most vigorously during the hottest persecution. So numerous were they in the times of which we speak that, "in every place and parish," says Brand in his *Popular Antiquities*, "any old woman with a "wrinkled face, a furrowed brow, a hairy lip, a squint eye, a "squeaking voice, and a scolding tongue; having a ragged cloak "on her back, a skullcap on her head, a spindle in her hand, "and a dog, or cat, by her side, was not only suspected for a "witch, but was pronounced to be so, and had to suffer accord-"ingly." Witchcraft was defined by our Royal Author to be a species of sorcery by which persons entered into a contract with the Devil, who furnished them with a "familiar spirit," and enabled them "in many instances to change the course of "nature—to raise winds—to perform actions that require more "than human strength, and to afflict those that offend them "with the sharpest pains." To him, the reason why *twenty* women were given to witchcraft for *one* man was very plain; for he lays it down in his *Demonology* as an undisputed fact

that, since the "fair sex is frailer than man is, so it is easier "for them to be entrapped in those gross snares of the Divell, "as was over-well proved by the serpent's deceiving of Eva at "the beginning, which makes him the homelier with that sex "sensine." So far as the writer is aware there is now no classification of witches into white, black, and grey, as was once the case; but the belief in witchcraft in general still survives amongst our country population. The comparatively uneducated entertain no doubt on the subject; and many otherwise well-informed persons may yet be found who will quote the Levitical command, "Thou shalt not suffer a *witch* to live," as proof that both witches and witchcraft are acknowledged by the highest authority.

Some years ago, I formed the acquaintance of an elderly gentleman who had retired from business after amassing an ample fortune by the manufacture of cotton. He was possessed of a considerable amount of general information—had studied the world by which he was surrounded—and was a leading member of the Wesleyan connection. The *faith element*, however, predominated amongst his religious principles, and hence both he and his family were firm believers in witchcraft. They read the *News from the Invisible World* without entertaining any doubts respecting the authenticity or truth of that celebrated collection of ghost stories and apparitions; and to these the old man added some choice proofs of the effects of diabolical influence from his own experience. On one occasion, according to my informant, both he and the neighbouring farmers suffered much from loss of cattle, and from the unproductiveness of their sheep. The cream was *bynged* in the churn, and would bring forth no butter. Their cows died mad in the shippons, and no farrier could be found who was able to fix upon the diseases which afflicted them. Horses were bewitched out of their stables through the loopholes after the doors had been safely locked, and were

frequently found strayed to a considerable distance when they ought to have been safe in their stalls. Lucky-stones had lost their virtues; horse-shoes nailed behind the doors were of little use; and sickles hung across the beams had no effect in averting the malevolence of the evil-doer. At length suspicion rested upon an old man, a noted astrologer and fortune-teller, who resided near New Church, in Rossendale, and it was determined to put an end both to their ill-fortune and his career by performing the requisite ceremonials for "Killing "a Witch." It was a cold November evening when the process commenced. A thick fog covered the valleys, and the wild winds whistled across the dreary moors. The farmers, however, were not deterred. They met at the house of one of their number, whose cattle were then supposed to be under the influence of the wizard; and having procured a live cock-chicken they stuck him full of pins and burnt him alive, whilst repeating some magical incantation. A cake was also made of oatmeal, mixed with the urine of those bewitched, and after having been marked with the name of the person suspected was then burnt in a similar manner. The elements seemed conscious that something fearful was being transacted. The wind suddenly rose to a tempest and threatened the destruction of the house. Dreadful moanings as of some one in intense agony were heard without, whilst a sense of horror seized upon all within. At the moment when the storm was at the wildest the wizard knocked at the door, and in piteous tones desired admittance. They had previously been warned by the "wise man" whom they had consulted that such would be the case, and had been charged not to yield to their feelings of humanity by allowing him to enter. Had they done so he would have regained all his influence, for the virtue of the spell would have been dissolved. Again and again did he implore them to open the door, and pleaded the bitterness of the wintry blast, but no one answered from within. They

were deaf to all his entreaties, and at last the wizard wended his way across the moors as best he could. The spell therefore was enabled to have its full effect, and within a week the Rossendale wizard was locked in the cold embrace of Death.*

Pendle Forest, in the neighbourhood of Burnley, has long been notorious for its witches. No fewer than *ten* of the residents in that locality suffered the extreme penalty of the law at Lancaster in August, 1612, and one died in prison. Some twenty years later the lives of several others were imperilled by the evidence of Edmund Robinson, as given before Richard Shuttleworth and John Starkie, Esqrs., two of "His Majesty's Justices of the Peace." Two hundred years have since passed away, and yet the old opinions survive; for it is notorious that throughout the Forest the farmers still endeavour to

> "Chase the evil spirits away; by dint
> "Of sickle, horse-shoe, and hollow flint."

Clay or wax images, pierced through with pins or needles, are occasionally met with in churchyards and gardens where they have been placed for the purpose of causing the death of the persons they represent. † We may observe that our Saxon forefathers were addicted to the same practices. Consumptive patients and paralytics are frequently said to be bewitched; and

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* The author of *Scarsdale* has given a graphic sketch of this process in the chapter on "Life in a Moorland Farm"; from which it appears that he is well acquainted with our local superstitions. In order to prevent misapprehension, it may be stated that the author had access to my MSS. when writing those portions of his work.

† Ferdinando, the fifth Earl of Derby, was supposed to have been bewitched to death in this manner:—"The tenth of April, 1594, about midnight, was found "in his Hon. bedchamber by one Mr. Halsall, *an image of wax*, with haire like "unto the haire of his Hon.'s head twisted thorowe the bellie thereof, from the "navel unto the secrets. . . This image was hastilie cast unto the fyre by "Mr. Halsall before it was viewed, because he thought *by burning the same* he "should relieve my Lord from witchcraft, and *burn the witch* who so much tor-"mented his Honr. But it fell out contrarie to his love and affection, for after "the melting thereof his Honr. more and more declined." (*Harl. MSS. Cod.* 247, *fol.* 204.)

the common Lancashire proverb, "draw blood of a witch and "she cannot harm you," has been many times practically verified upon quarrelsome females within my own experience. In extreme cases the "witch-killer" is resorted to, and implicit faith in his powers is not a rare item in the popular creed. Such a person usually combines the practice of Astrology with his other avocations. He casts nativities; gives advice respecting stolen property; tells fortunes; and writes out charms for the protection of those who may consult him. The following is a correct copy of one of these documents which was found over the door of a house in the neighbourhood of Burnley. Its occupier had experienced "ill-luck," and he thus sought protection from all evil-doers.

"Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, "Trine, Sextile, Dragon's Head, Dragon's Tail, I Charge you "all to gard this hause from all evils spirits whatever, and gard "it from all Desorders, and from aney thing being taken "wrangasly, and give this famaly good Ealth and Welth."

Another individual, well known to the writer, was so far convinced that certain casualties which happened to his cattle arose from the practice of witchcraft that he unconsciously resorted to the old worship of Baal, and consumed a live calf in a fire in order to counteract the influences of his unknown enemies. Almost every door about his house had its horse-shoe nailed to it for a similar purpose. Such instances may perhaps be doubted by those who are not sufficiently familiar with our rural population; or they may urge that such credulity is only to be found amongst the most ignorant. This, however, is not always the case, for even the wives of clergymen have been known to consult these "wise "men" on doubtful matters respecting which they desired more satisfactory information!

When we come to examine the miscellaneous customs and superstitions of the county we find many remarkable traces of

a former belief. Tradition has again been true to her vocation; and in several instances has been most careful to preserve the *minutiæ* of the mode of operation and supposed effects of each minor spell and incantation. The principal difficulty now lies in the selection; for the materials are so plentiful that none but the most striking can be noticed. Among these we observe that, a ringing in the ears; shooting of the eyes; throwing down, or spilling the salt; putting on the left shoe first; lucky and unlucky days; pouring melted lead into water; stopping blood by means of charms; the use of waxen images; enchanted girdles; and lover's knots; are all observed and explained almost exactly as amongst the Greeks and Romans. The details in many have been preserved to the very letter, whilst the supposed effects are exactly the same both in the ancient and modern times. Our marriageable maidens never receive knives, or any pointed implements, from their suitors, for the very same reason that such presents were rejected by their Scandinavian ancestors—they portend a "breaking off" in the matrimonial arrangements, and are notorious for "severing love."

"If you love me as I love you,
"No knife shall cut our love in two."

When a Lancashire damsel desires to know what sort of a husband she will have, on New Year's Eve she pours some melted lead into a glass of water and observes what forms the drops assume. When they resemble scissors she concludes that she must rest satisfied with a tailor; if they appear in the form of a hammer, he will be a smith or a carpenter; and so of others. I have met with many instances of this class in which the examples given did not admit of easy contradiction.

We still hold that, if gratitude be expressed on receiving a remedy for any disease, it will in consequence lose its effect. Hence medical men do not always find their patients remark-

ably free in expressing their obligations. We never return thanks for a loan of pins. A "winding sheet" on the candle forebodes death; and dogs howling indicate a similar calamity.* Almost every one is aware that cuttings of human hair ought always to be burnt; that if *thirteen* sit down to dinner one of them will die before the end of the year; that it is unlucky to meet a woman the first thing in the morning; and that a horse-shoe nailed or let into the step of the door will prevent the entrance of any evil-disposed person. We have probably derived nearly the whole of these notions from the Scandinavian settlers in the North of England. They considered it quite possible too to raise the Devil by the same means now practised by our "wise men"; and after their conversion to Christianity they are known to have marked their dough with a cross in order to ensure its rising;—a practice which many of our country matrons still retain. Sodden bread is always considered to be bewitched, provided the yeast was good, and hence the necessity for the protection of the cross.

Our peasantry retain the notion so prevalent in North Germany, that the night-mare is a demon which sometimes takes the form of a cat, or a dog, and they seek to counteract its influences by placing their shoes under the bed with the toes outward on retiring to rest. When eating eggs, our ancestors were careful to break the shells lest the witches should use them to their disadvantage. We do the same for a slightly different reason; it is counted unlucky to leave them whole. They avoided cutting their nails on a Friday, because bad luck would follow; but we have improved upon their practice and now lay down the whole theory as follows:—

"Cut your nails on a Monday, cut them for news;
"Cut them on Tuesday, a new pair of shoes;

* This popular opinion appears to be very ancient and wide-spread; for it has been noticed by Moses as prevailing in Egypt. *Exodus* xi. 5-7.

" Cut them on Wednesday, cut them for health;
" Cut them on Thursday, cut them for wealth;
" Cut them on Friday, cut them for woe;
" Cut them on Saturday, a journey you'll go;
" Cut them on Sunday, you cut them for evil;
" For all the next week you'll be ruled by the Devil."

We always get out of bed either on the right side, or with the right foot first; we take care not to cross two knives on the table; mothers never allow a child to be weighed soon after its birth; our children still blow their ages at marriage from the tops of the dandelion; and all these for similar reasons, and with similar objects, to those of the peasantry of Northumbria during the period of Danish rule. They supposed that the dead followed their usual occupations in the spirit-world, and hence, probably, the weapons of war and the implements of domestic life which we find amongst the ashes of their dead. They were also of opinion that buried treasure caused the ghosts of the owners to haunt the places of concealment; and many of our country population retain the same opinions without the slightest modification.

The efficacy of lucky-stones worn round the neck—of branches of the " wicken tree," or mountain ash—of spoons made from the wood of the ivy—and of numerous other minor safeguards from evil and disease, is still undoubted by many. No medical man, we are told, will rub ointment on a wound with the fore-finger of his right hand, because it is popularly counted venomous; a dead man's hand is said to have the power of curing wens and other excrescences of the skin; three spiders worn about the neck will prevent the ague; and a string with *nine* knots tied upon it, placed about the neck of a child, is reported to be an infallible remedy for the hooping cough. The same effect also follows from passing the child *nine* times round the neck of a female ass according to the popular creed of the county. Our *wise men* still sell the following charm for the cure of continued toothache; but

it must be worn inside the vest or stays, and over the left breast :—" Ass Sant Petter sat at the geats of Jerusalm our "Blessed Lord and Sevour Jesus Crist Pased by and Sead, "What Eleth thee hee sead Lord my Teeth Ecketh he sead "arise and folow mee and thy Teeth shall never Eake Eney "moor. Fiat + Fiat + Fiat + " *

If we are troubled with warts we must *steal* a piece of beef from a butcher's stall and bury it at a place where *three* roads meet; for as the beef decays the warts will disappear. Galvanised rings have latterly taken the place of silver ones made from the hinges of coffins for the cure of fits, or for the prevention of cramp. Fried mice are yet given to children in order to cure non-retention of urine during sleep. An elderly female, of my acquaintance, confidently predicted the early death of her grand-child, from the fact of its *having cut its double teeth first*; and when the event really happened soon after, she quoted her prediction and its fulfilment in proof of the correctness of the popular notion. Most grandmothers will exclaim " God bless you," when they hear a child sneeze; and they sum up the philosophy of the subject in the following lines, which used to delight us in our younger days. If you

" Sneeze on a Monday, you sneeze for danger;
" Sneeze on a Tuesday, you kiss a stranger;
" Sneeze on a Wednesday, you sneeze for a letter;
" Sneeze on a Thursday, for something better;
" Sneeze on a Friday, you sneeze for sorrow;
" Sneeze on a Saturday, your sweetheart to-morrow;
" Sneeze on a Sunday, your safety seek,
" The Devil will have you the whole of the week."

In most parts of Lancashire it is customary for children to repeat the following invocation every evening, on retiring to bed, along with the Lord's Prayer and the Creed :—

" Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,
" Bless the bed which I lie on;

* This is a real instance, and is noticed in *Carr's Glossary*, vol. ii. p. 264; also in *Notes and Queries* as prevalent in other counties.

"There are four corners to my bed,
"And four angels overspread,
"Two at the feet, two at the head.
"If any ill thing me betide,
"Beneath your wings my body hide.
"Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,
"Bless the bed that I lie on. Amen." *

The influence of the "evil eye" is felt as strongly in this county as in any other part of the world, and various means are resorted to in order to prevent its effects. "Drawing "blood above the mouth" of the person suspected, is the favourite antidote in the neighbourhood of Burnley; and in the district of Craven, a few miles within the borders of Yorkshire, a person who was well disposed towards his neighbours is believed to have slain a pear-tree which grew opposite his house by directing towards it "the first morning "glances" of his evil eye.† Spitting three times in the person's face; turning a live coal on the fire; and exclaiming "the Lord be with us," are other means of averting its influence.

Should one of your children fall sick when on a visit at a friend's house, it is held to be sure to entail bad luck on that

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* This is noticed by the Rev. W. Thornber in his *History of Blackpool*, p. 39; also in the *Oxford Essays*, 1858, p. 127; and my friend the Rev. James Dugan, M.A., T.C.D., informs me that the Irish midwives in Ulster use a very similar formula when visiting their patients. They first mark each corner of the house, on the outside, with a cross, and previously to entering repeat the following words:—

"There are four corners to her bed,
"Four angels at her head:—
"Matthew, Mark, Luke and John,
"God bless the bed that she lies on.
"New Moon, new Moon, God bless me,
"God bless this house and family."

† See Carr's *Craven Glossary*, vol. i. p. 137—"Look, sir," said Mr. Carr's informant, "at that pear tree, it wor some years back, sir, a maast flourishin tree. "Ivvry mornin, as soon as he first oppans the door, that he may not cast his ee "on onny yan passin by, he fixes his een o' that pear tree, and ye plainly see "how it's deed away."

family for the rest of the year if you stay over New Year's Day. Persons have been known to travel sixty miles with a sick child rather than run the risk. A flake of soot on the bars of the grate, is said to indicate the approach of a stranger—a bright spark on the wick of a candle betokens a similar event—when the fire burns briskly, some lover is good humoured—and a cinder thrown out by a jet of gas from burning coals is looked upon as a coffin or a purse of gold, according to its peculiar shape. Crickets in a house are said to indicate good fortune; but should they forsake the chimney corner, it is a sure sign of coming misfortunes. To kill, or ill use, swallows, wrens, redbreasts, &c., is counted unfortunate; for these all frequent our houses for good; and we have a common stanza current amongst us which declares that :—

"A Robin and a Wren
"Are God Almighty's cock and hen;
"A Spink and a Sparrow
"Are the Devil's bow and arrow."

When we see *one* magpie, it is a sign of bad luck; *two* denote merriment; *three*, a marriage; *four*, the arrival of good news. So says our prose version; but the poetical narrative runs thus :—

"*One* for sorrow; *two* for mirth;
"*Three* for a wedding; *four* for a birth."

We still dislike the moaning of owls and the croaking of ravens, as much as the Romans did of old; they, too, spat upon their enemies, and esteemed it a charm against all fascination. In Lancashire, our boys spit over their fingers in order to screw up their courage to the fighting point; and at other times to attest their innocence of some petty crime laid to their charge. Travellers, and recruits, still spit upon a stone and then throw it away, in order to insure prosperous journeys; and our hucksters always spit upon the first

money they receive in the morning, that they may have ready sale and "good luck" during the day. "Hansell," they say, "is always lucky when well wet."

The Folklore of dreams is an extensive subject, and would require a series of essays for its full elucidation. On this occasion we can only glance at one or two of the most common practices in illustration of the prevaling superstitions of the county. The *Royal Dream Book*, and *Napoleon's Book of Fate*, command an extensive sale amongst our operatives, and may be consulted for additional information. Suffice it to say, that our country maidens are well aware that *triple* leaves plucked at hazard from the common ash, are worn in the breast for the purpose of causing prophetic dreams respecting a dilatory lover. The leaves of the yellow trefoil are supposed to possess similar virtues;—and the Bible is not unfrequently put under their pillows with a crooked sixpence placed on the 16th and 17th verses of the first chapter of Ruth, in order that they may both dream of, and see, their future husbands. "Opening the Bible for "direction" is still practised after any troublesome dream, or when about to undertake any doubtful matter. To dream of the teeth falling out betokens death, or the loss of a lawsuit. Other signs of death are dreaming of seeing the Devil; or hearing a sound like the stroke of a wand on any piece of furniture. The proverb that "lawyers and asses always die "in their shoes," is invariably quoted when any sudden calamity befalls one of the profession.

It is well known that the ancients performed certain rites and ceremonies at the changes of the Moon; and hence that luminary has added some curious items to the popular creed. *Old Mother Bunch's Garland* is an authority on these matters, and amongst many other things it teaches expectant females who desire to pry into futurity, to cross their hands on the appearance of the new Moon and exclaim:—

"All hail! new Moon; all hail to thee!
I pray thee good Moon, declare to me
This night, who my true love shall be."

Our farmers predict fair weather, or the reverse, according as the new Moon "lies on her back," or "stands upright." In the former case "she will hold water:" in the latter not. It is also very unlucky for any one to look at the new Moon, for the first time, through the window. Christmas thorns are said to blossom only on Old Christmas Day; and persons will go considerable distances at midnight in order to witness the blossoming. Oxen, too, are supposed to acknowledge the importance of the Nativity of Christ, by going down on their knees at the same hour; and this is often quoted as a proof that our legislators were wrong in depriving our forefathers of their "eleven days" when the new style was enforced by Act of Parliament.* Should females, or light-haired persons, be the first to enter a house on New Year's Day, they are supposed to bring bad luck for the current year. Various precautions are taken in most families to prevent this misfortune, and hence many persons with black hair are in the habit of going from house to house on that day "to take the New Year in," for which they are treated with liquor and presented with a small gratuity.

When persons hear the cuckoo for the first time in the Spring, it is put down as a sure sign of coming prosperity if they happen to have gold, silver, and copper, in their pockets; —it is also counted lucky for lambs to have their faces towards us when first seen in the fields. Some of our farmers

* The *use* of the old style in effect, is not yet extinct in Lancashire. The writer knows an old man, R. H., of Habergham, about 77 years of age, who always reckons the changes of the seasons in this manner. He alleges the practice of his grandfather and father in support of his method; and states with much confidence that—"Perliment did'nt change t' seeasuns wen thay chang'd "t' day ot munth."

are superstitious enough to hang in the chimney a portion of the flesh of any animal which has died of distemper as a protection from similar afflictions;—they also preserve with great care the membrane which sometimes envelopes a newly born foal in the hope that it will ensure them good luck for the future. Sailors do not like to set sail on a Friday. Servant girls will rarely enter upon a new service either on a Friday, or on a Saturday; should they do so, they have an opinion that they will disagree with their mistresses and "not "stay long in place." Most females entertain strong objections against giving evidence, or taking oaths, before the magistrates, when *enceinte*. At Burnley, not long ago, a witness in a case of felony was threatened with imprisonment before she would comply with the necessary forms. All children that are born in the twilight of certain days are in consequence supposed to be endowed with the faculty of seeing spirits; and some of our "wise men" take advantage of this and persuade their dupes that they were so circumstanced at birth.

I might multiply such instances to an almost indefinite extent, did space permit; but the preceding will suffice to prove both the probable origin and prevalence of many of our popular superstitions. To a greater or less extent their influence pervades all classes of society; and he who would elevate the intellectual condition of the people must not neglect this thick stratum of *common notions* which underlies the deepest deposits of mental culture. As a recent writer in the *Quarterly Review* reports of Cornwall, so we may state of Lancashire:—"Pages might be filled, not with "mere legends wrought up for literary purposes, but with "serious accounts of the wild delusions which seem to have "lived on from the very birth of Pagan antiquity, and still to "hold their influence among the earnest and Christian people "of this portion of England * * * Superstition

"lives on, with little abatement of vitality, in the human "heart. In the lower classes it wears its old fashions, with "very slow alterations—in the higher, it changes with the "rapidity of modes in fashionable circles. We read with a "smile of amusement and pity, the account of some pro- "vincial conjuror, who follows with slight changes, the trade "of the Witch of Endor; and we then compose our features "to a grave expression of interest—for so society requires— "to listen to some enlightened person's description of the "latest novelties in table-turning, or spirit-rapping; or to some "fair patient's account of her last conversation with her last "quack doctor. Certainly, the Celtic races stand pre-eminent "in the variety and strangeness of their intimacy with the "invisible world;" and it behoves those who labour to effect any radical changes in their mental condition, to acquaint themselves more particularly with these secret causes of non-success. So long as the minds of the bulk of our population are swayed by such subtle influences as these, we need not be surprised that Mormonism finds its dupes—Clairvoyance its advocates—and Spirit-rapping its mono-maniacs amongst those who otherwise deservedly occupy a high rank in the scale of intellectual society.

In these Essays I have advanced little beyond what has been derived from my own experience, and I doubt not but that numerous additions may be made from other localities by those who may interest themselves in the matter. When so much that is curious can be found within a circle of some forty miles in diameter, taking Blackburn as a centre, what a harvest may be expected from a careful gleaning in all the undisturbed nooks and corners of the land; and what if the inquiry were extended so as to embrace the whole of the United Kingdom. The labours of Croker, Keightley, Thorpe and Kemble, following in the wake of the Brothers Grimm, have added considerably to our knowledge of the folklore of

the North of Europe; but much yet remains to be collected before the subject can be examined in all its bearings. A humble labourer in the same field may therefore hope to be excused for presuming to cast in his mite to the common treasury. His collections are by no means exhausted, but enough has been adduced to prove that the Customs and Superstitions of Lancashire are not unworthy of our attention; and he now dismisses the subject in the hope that it will be further prosecuted by abler hands, until the whole of our folklore has been collected and arranged.

# THE GOLD FIELDS OF AUSTRALIA.

*By J. T. Towson, F.R.G.S.*

(Read 15th November, 1860.)

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During the past year Mr. T. M. Mackay, of the Liverpool firm of Messrs. James Baines & Co., visited Australia in connexion with the extensive commercial relations which his house has formed with that distant colony. During the period he remained there he collected a valuable mass of papers and illustrations relating to the geology, the statistics, and every other matter referring to or connected with the subject now under consideration. He also, on leaving Australia, made arrangement to secure monthly reports on these interesting subjects. These papers he has kindly presented to me, and continues to do so with every new arrival. This act of liberality no doubt originated from a belief that they would undergo a thorough investigation and discussion in my hands, knowing that I took a great interest in these matters. I do not, however, think that I should have done justice to Mr. Mackay's liberality without reading before this or some other Society the result of the perusal of these interesting documents.

Having early in life had considerable practical experience in connexion with the mines in Cornwall and Devon, I found that I was enabled to enter into the matters referred to in these papers with far greater facility, especially the subjects connected with the future prospects of mining operations in Australia, than I should otherwise have had the means of doing. I therefore propose to take a glance at the mining

operations of the past in this country, as far as such a view is calculated to throw a light on the future mining prospects of our antipodes.

There appears to exist, in many respects, a strong analogy between the different mining operations in the gold fields of Australia and the tin mines in Cornwall. In both, as far as we can judge of the past by the present, these metallic minerals are considered to have been first deposited in strata, descending into the earth and forming various angles with the horizon. These planes in this country are called "lodes," in Australia "quartz reefs." This is not the only form in which gold quartz, or other metallic minerals, are found deposited in their primary condition, but, as far as we yet know, it is the principal formation in Australia. We may, therefore, confine our observations to this class of primary deposits.

Although the lodes that contain copper are in most respects of the same character as those which contain tin, yet in one particular tin has a stronger analogy to gold than any other metal found in great quantities in this country. Tin is not only found in the lodes in which it was first deposited, but also in the alluvium, and in the beds of rivers and streams. Such also is the case with gold; in fact, all the earlier mining operations for obtaining either tin or gold were of the class called stream-works. The tin ore and the metal gold when collected from stream works are found in a state of fragmentary deposits and occur associated with and indeed forming a part of the loose superficial beds which occur in the outlays of mineral districts, and no doubt they consist of the detritus of neighbouring rocks which have been worn down by the action of water at remote geological epochs. These deposits are not generally mixed up indiscriminately with the alluvial matter since their greater specific gravity has occasioned them to be deposited towards the bottom of the mass. The cause of tin

and gold being the only metals found in this secondary condition to any great extent, arises from the fact that the peroxide of tin or stream tin as well as the metal gold, is not subject to decomposition by being exposed to the action of the atmosphere and moisture, whereas other ores, copper pyrites or sulphuret of copper for instance, when exposed to these agents do undergo decomposition, the oxygen uniting with the sulphur changing the sulphuret into the sulphate of copper, which being a soluble salt is dissolved in the waters and thus carried into the ocean.*

As we have before noticed, the first operations in the gold fields of Australia were stream works. As compared with mining operations on the lode, stream works are exceedingly simple, requiring little or no capital, and can be conducted by one, two or more labourers for their own benefit. In fact Nature in the case of stream-works has performed the greatest amount of the labour connected with dressing the minerals previously to the process of smelting. It is probable that the stream-works of the Cassiterides produced for two thousand years the principal portion of the tin of the world, although in Cornwall there are workings on the lodes, generally denominated the old men's works, which are evidently of great antiquity. As it was with tin for near two thousand years, so it is with gold up to the present period; the greatest amount being the produce of stream works. We have observed that stream works consist of the detritus of neighbouring formations. But on a close inspection of the product of the lodes and stream works there are difficulties which cannot be satisfactorily explained with regard either to gold or tin. With reference to the latter, the ore found in stream works, notwithstanding

* In some cases this solution of sulphate of copper is arrested in its progress by earthy or alkaline carbonates, and the ore is thus deposited in that beautiful description of mineral called malachites or carbonates of copper, or is sometimes artificially received into reservoirs, as at the Parys mines, Anglesea, and the copper precipitated by means of small pieces of iron.

the great amount of attrition to which it has been subjected, exists in larger masses than are found in lodes; also large pieces of the per-oxide of tin, which are known to miners by the name of wood-tin, are, as far as I have been able to ascertain, of a character in one instance only found in a lode. Wood-tin has much the appearance of the iron ore generally called hematite, and in common with other descriptions of stream-tin it generally yields a much purer tin than that obtained from lodes, the latter being mixed with other metals, especially with the ore of tungsten, known by the name of wolfram. This ore contains also iron and manganese, but it is the tungsten that principally deteriorates the quality of lode tin.* So it is also with gold. All the largest and most valuable nuggets have been obtained from stream works.† It has been thought, therefore, that at the remote epoch when these mineral deposits were broken down by the action of water, the original formation, in which the gold now obtained from stream works existed, was vastly superior to the present reefs; and from this fact the inference has been drawn that gold reefs must yield less as we descend to lower depths. This argument does not, however, appear conclusive. If it were an indisputable argument in the case of gold, it would also be so with regard to tin. But although black-tin is found in larger masses in stream works than in the lode, in very many cases "tin stuff," as in the cases of Buckler's and Polgooth,

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* Mr. Oxland, of Plymouth, has within a few years discovered a method of extracting the tungsten from tin. Whilst thus he increases the value of the tin he applies the tungsten to a valuable purpose in connexion with dyeing.

† There appears to be one exception, in a nugget of 156 ounces found in a reef at Victoria, and also another of 12 ounces. With a few exceptions an ounce is the usual limit of the weight of nuggets found in reefs, and even these are rare; whereas there appear to be no limits to the size of lumps found in drifts. The "Blanche Barkley Nugget" weighed 1,743 ounces, and contained but six ounces of quartz and earthy impurities. It was discovered 13 feet below the surface in the alluvium, at Kingower Diggings, 120 miles from Melbourne.

improves with increased depth, and in Wheal Vor and Old Crinnis it runs good at 300 fathoms, although in other cases the contrary is the fact.*

Sir Roderick Murchison, † however, an authority of the highest order, has given so decided an opinion on this subject, that it would be presumption to doubt its correctness, had we not abundant facts to lead us to another conclusion. Sir Roderick in his *Siluria*, page 448, observes that " experience

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* A large number of the East and West lodes in Devon and Cornwall have tin on the back, or on the shallow levels, and copper at greater depths. These lodes run out of tin for generally ten or twenty fathoms before they are productive in copper. A similar change takes place in gold reefs, running out of native gold, and at greater depths they become more productive, by yielding auriferous mundic. The Cornish United Company on Ballaarat Reef, in June, 1860, extracted mundic yielding 58 ounces to the ton, but we are not informed how much of this mundic was obtained from a ton of quartz.

† Mr. Selwyn, the Government geologist, in a letter to Sir R. I. Murchison, dated 14th February, 1859, (Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, 1st May, 1860,) contends that the finding of larger nuggets in the older drifts is not a conclusive proof of the superior richness of the denuded upper surface of veins or reefs. He suggests that this might have arisen from the natural crushing process and deposit of our gold-drifts and the subsequent consolidation by heat arising from long-continued Plutonic action, of which we have ample evidence during the later Pliocene period. If this theory be accepted with regard to gold, it will equally meet the difficulty we have had to contend with regarding the difference that exists in both the size and quality of the masses of tin obtained from stream-works and lodes. But the same discussion, whether gold reefs improve downwards or otherwise, has been also argued on the data of experience alone, and since this subject is one of great importance in connexion with the future prosperity of the gold fields of Australia, we have devoted a considerable amount of time to investigating this matter by aid of the papers before alluded to. Mr. Selwyn does not consider, from his experience, that the yield is either steadily increasing or steadily decreasing, but fluctuating at various depths. He instances the Port Philip Company's reefs, which are rich at 200 feet and 230 feet; one of the reefs is six feet thick, and in both the quartz contained as much gold per ton as at surface. At Maryborough 400 feet has been reached with similar results, and there are many instances of quartz-reefs containing no gold at surface being remunerative when followed to greater depths.

" too dearly bought has taught the miner throughout long ages, " that in his efforts to follow vein-stone downwards by deep " shafts into the body of the rock he has either found the gold " diminish in volume or so difficult to obtain that the cost of " extraction has usually been greater than the value of the " metal." Mr. Panton, in a paper read before the Mining Institute of Australia, is decidedly of the same opinion as Sir Roderick Murchison, and gives numerous instances of reefs, rich near the surface, but valueless at depths varying from 15 to 75 feet.

I must, however, observe that Mr. Panton's experience appears to be confined to the neighbourhood of Bendigo. * He mentions, as proofs of the correctness of Sir Roderick's hypothesis, that Victoria (Ballerstedt's)*, New Chum, Hustler's, Johnston's, † Windmill Hill, Eagle Hawk, Williamson's claim,

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* When this paper was written we were of opinion that Mr. Panton was correct as far as the reefs in the neighbourhood of Bendigo were concerned. But subsequent information from this district proves that the reefs, referred to by Mr. Panton as illustrations of the fact that the gold decreases as we descend deeper, have since the date of his paper supported the contrary hypothesis. Our subsequent November report proves that the Bendigo reefs are not of the class described by Mr. Panton. The New Chum was working very profitably at the depth of 179 feet, and the Glasgow reef, which is a prolongation of the same reef to the south, at the depth of 130 feet was producing 50 oz. per ton. Beaglehole, on the same reef, at 95 feet was producing 150 oz. per ton. Gibbs, on the same reef, at 179 feet was yielding 16.4 oz. per ton. Noble and Co.'s claim, at 112 feet was producing 9 oz.; and Gordon and Co.'s, at 110 feet 7 oz. per ton. We may therefore conclude that even Bendigo reefs do not furnish evidence to support the theory that the yield of gold diminishes with the depth.

† In February, 1860, the following is the report of Johnson's reef:—

| PROPRIETORS. | DEPTH OF SHAFT. | YIELDS PER TON. |
|---|---|---|
| | feet. | ounces. |
| Murdock and Co..... | 250 | 8 |
| Lindsay and Co. ..... | 260 | 10 |
| Thorpe and Co..... | 250 | 20 |
| Early and Co. ..... | 296 | 20 |
| Chapple and Co. ..... | 250 | 20 |

Buhher's Gully and Break-o'-Day reefs, have uniformly yielded more gold at or near the surface than they have at subsequent depths. At New Chum reef, in Power and Thomson's claim, quartz within ten feet of the surface yielded upwards of 100 oz. to the ton, whilst ten or fifteen feet below this it was scarcely paying; and, on further sinking, that portion of the reef was abandoned. Again, on the well-known claim of Ballerstedt's, from the surface to the depth of 66 feet, the reef averaged 6 ounces per ton; and from that point to a depth of 150 feet the reef yielded only a few penny weights per ton—not sufficient to pay expenses. Also on Steven's and Grant's claim, on the Victoria reef, the vein was struck at 35 feet, and yielded paying quartz for 30 feet downwards, below which it yielded nothing, although followed to a depth of 200 feet from the surface. Lastly, it may be mentioned that in a limited space on a claim on Surface Hill, Eagle Hawk, four pounds of gold to the bushel of quartz was obtained at a depth of 40 feet from the surface, whilst at the depth of 70 feet the quantity was not worth working.

Against this theory we have, however, more numerous instances of reefs improving as they increase in depth. We will

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Johnson's Reef Gold Mining Co., consisting of the following claims:—

| CLAIMS. | DEPTH OF SHAFT. | YIELDS PER TON. |
|---|---|---|
| | feet. | ounces. |
| McCallum and Co. .... | 230 | 9 |
| Taylor and Co. ..... | 230 | 7 to 8 |
| Burk and Co. ..... | 220 | 9 |
| O'Brien and Co. ..... | 280 | 9 |
| Robinson and Co. .... | 220 | 6 |
| Bryce and Co. ..... | 240 | 7 |
| Macintyre and Co. .... | 250 | 8 to 9 |

At a meeting of the last-named company in September, 1860, to celebrate the inauguration of the steam pumping engine "Midas," Mr. Thorpe, a miner of considerable experience, expresses a strong desire to see the reef 300 feet lower than its present depth, thus proving that practical men even in the Bendigo district entertain the opinion opposite to that of Mr. Panton.

selectthe Adelong reefs, and from these we instance claims below 100 feet producing five ounces and upwards to the ton, and compare them with those under 75 feet deep, taking in the latter cases those which yield the greatest product.

| NAME OF OWNER. | Depth of level. | Width of reef. | Yield per ton.* | REMARKS. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | feet. | ft. in. | ozs. | |
| Thomas Channon .. | 152 | 2 0 | 8 | At 100 feet the reef was 6 feet; from that to the present depth it has varied. |
| Bullock and Partner.. | 100 | 2 0 | 8 | The three first named were rich from surface. |
| Fallan and Bunn.... | 140 | 3 0 | 8 | |
| Vicque and Harris .. | 125 | 1 6 | 8 | Did not pay until a depth of 40 feet. |
| Lind and Partner.... | 100 | 2 0 | 8 | |
| Skruner and Co. .... | 116 | 1 0 | 8 | |
| Baker and Co. ..... | 120 | 3 0 | 8 | Rich from surface. |
| Iredale and Co. .... | 120 | .. | 6 | No traces of this reef at 150 ft. |
| Hillhouse and Co. .. | 110 | 2 0 | 5½ | Auriferous mundic. |
| Griffiths and Co. .... | 100 | 3 0 | 5½ | Auriferous mundic. |
| Loemun and Co.... | 107 | 2 0 | 5 | These three claims paid from 40 feet downwards. |
| Dent and Co. ..... | 100 | 1 6 | 5 | |
| Lewington and Co. .. | 100 | 2 6 | 5 | |
| Cumberland party .. | 100 | 2 6 | 5 | Unproductive to 36 feet. Struck auriferous mundic at 40 feet. |
| Hays and Co. ..... | 110 | 0 9 | 5 | No surface reef, and struck auriferous mundic at 50 feet. |
| Rutter and Co..... | 120 | 1 2 | 5 | Paid from surface, but improves downwards. |
| King and Co. ..... | 75 | 2 0 | 7½ | This claim is improving with depth. |
| Pierce and Co. .... | 65 | 0 5 | 5 | No surface reef in this claim. |
| Jones Brothers .... | 40 | 0 6 | 7½ | |
| Edwards and Co..... | 60 | 0 9 | 8½ | |
| Boyde and Co..... | 60 | 0 9 | 5½ | Up to the present time this claim has not paid. |
| Shaw and Co. ..... | 10 | 0 9 | 4 | |
| Dawson and Co. .... | 10 | 0 9 | 4½ | |
| Rukleft and Co. .... | 40 | 1 0 | 4½ | |
| Standworthy and Co. | 30 | 0 9 | 4 | |
| Woodward and Co. .. | 40 | 1 0 | 3½ | Paid from surface. |
| Hatton and Co. .... | 70 | 2 0 | 4 | |
| Mosely and Co. .... | 60 | 1 0 | 4 | This claim is paying well. |
| Crow and Co. ..... | 70 | 0 3 | 3 | This vein varies from 3 to 12 inches. |

It is generally stated that a quarter of an ounce per ton will yield a profit if the reef is a foot wide.

Mr. Bollaert, a gentleman of considerable practical experience with reference to the gold lodes in South America, gave

a decided opinion, during the discussion of this paper, that those lodes did not diminish in value at any depths with which we are acquainted. He stated that he had seen lodes very rich in gold at the greatest depths below the surface with which the miners are acquainted, either in that or any other country. Mr. Pollard, an Australian mining engineer of considerable eminence, advises the miner at once to sink as deep as is practicable.

From these facts and opinions we come to the conclusion arrived at by the majority of Australian geologists, either that reefs vary their products at various depths, or that some reefs improve and others are less profitable as we follow them downward, whilst at the same time those who maintain the opinion of Mr. Pollard have many arguments to support their hypothesis, that reefs generally improve downwards, especially when we take into consideration the greater inducement which miners have to work reefs that are cropping out rich at surface, than to venture downwards in hopes the prospect of success may improve at great depths.

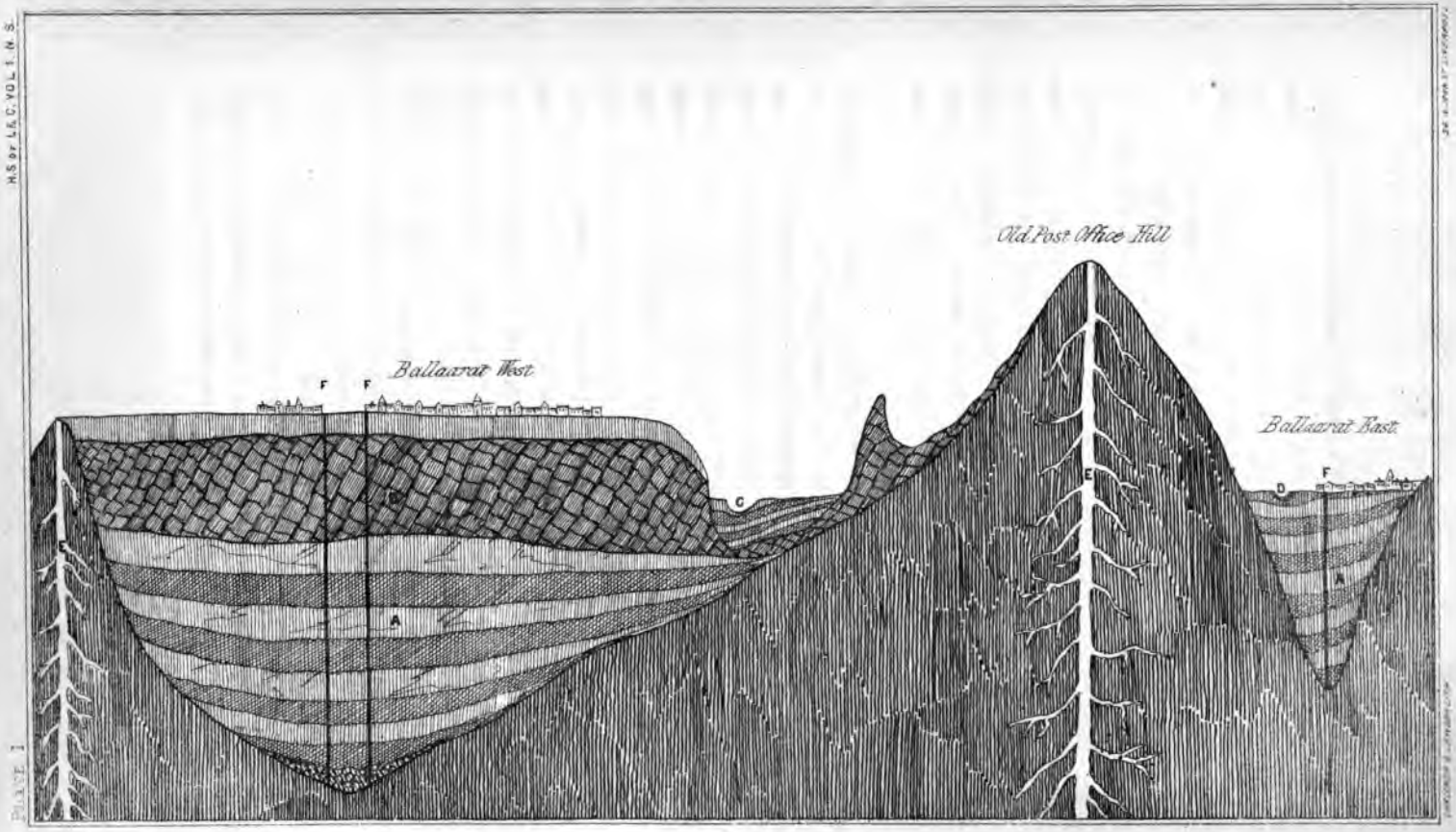
We have shewn the similarity between the production of tin from stream works to the yield of gold from the alluvial deposits. But although the character of both is the same, yet the aqueous action which gave existence to the ancient auriferous drifts must have been far more powerful in Australia than that which caused the disintegration of the rocks in which the tin originally existed which has been recovered by stream works. And again in Australia we have, extended over the whole country, two systems of alluvium, separated by vast beds of basalt, produced by the eruption of volcanoes long since extinct, whilst 160 feet above this ancient alluvium, rivers, or rather creeks of more recent origin have worn down a bed for their diminished volume, and these have also an auriferous alluvium.

In order to illustrate this most interesting phenomenon we

have given a plan of Ballaarat. Plate I represents the East and West sections of the "Ballaarat basin," as seen from the North. A,A represent the beds of two branches of an ancient river, which join a few miles to the southward. These beds have evidently been cut down by the action of water, at some very remote period, 432 feet deep from the summit of Black Hill, to the left beyond the limits of the Plate, and 267 feet below the top of "Old Post Office Hill," which divides Ballaarat East from Ballaarat West, and which is also distinguished by being the highest ground represented in the Plate. After this river-bed had been formed or during its formation large stones of quartz or boulders, evidently much worn down by the action of these floods, have been deposited at the lowest depths, and it is amongst deposits of this character the largest nuggets have been found. The rocks thus broken through consisted of schistose, known by miners as "killas," and having quartz reefs (E,E) running generally in the direction of their beds. Subsequently to the deposit of these boulders and nuggets a lighter sedimentary deposit was formed, during the lodgment of which several secular changes must have taken place, since this sedimentary bed is about 160 feet in depth, and is made up of nine or ten strata, alternating from clay to gravel. Each of these strata is to some extent auriferous. Then occurs a volcanic epoch, traces of which are evident throughout the whole of Australia, as far as its development has been traced. Then it appears that the whole bed of the Ballaarat river was filled up from the surface of this alluvium by lava, producing the basalt formation B, thus evidently causing the formation of a lake which in time became filled up by detritus almost to the level of Ballaarat. Then occurs the more modern epoch. The water at length breaks a passage through the basalt and forms the Yarrowee creek at C, and a smaller creek over the ancient river at D. The whole area of the drift-water basin of Ballaarat is not less than from

PLATE I

H.S. or L.&C. VOL. 1. N.S.



of the earth's crust existing for one epoch only, and also that all lodes of each particular class have a cotemporaneous period of formation. We find that the gold reefs of Australia possess the peculiarity of parallelism running north and south. We have no account whether there are other dykes or lodes running in other directions; but since we are informed that gold reefs are subject to faults we may conclude that in Australia,* as in other countries, the lodes in such cases are heaved by intercepting dykes of a later formation. There are said by some Australian geologists to be some exceptions to the parallelism of gold reefs. This is a matter deserving of much consideration, since previous investigations of the nature of lodes would induce us to believe that reefs running in such abnormal directions must be formations of a different epoch. In the Sandhurst district we have gold reefs said to be bearing in all directions, varying from nearly east and west to nearly north and south. Of the former we have Albert and Nuggetty, and of the latter, South Nuggetty and Balaclava.

But these abnormal bearings are said to extend for a limited distance only, and may be regarded rather as contortions of the reefs in that locality than as instances of reefs deviating from the parallelism of the system to which they belong. This, it is said, is evident, if the backs of the reefs are traced for a distance far beyond the small limits of the claims on which, at present, mining operations are carried on. Whether this latter statement is correct or not it will require time to demonstrate. But in the meantime we have the opinions of all the eminent geologists in Australia in favour of the hypothesis of the universal parallelism of gold reefs *on the main lead.*

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* From reports, since received, dated January, 1861, I find that this hypothesis is verified. Gordon's Kangaroo Reef, as seen at the 18th fathom-level, is heaved to the left, from 2 feet to 3 feet 3 inches, by three cross-courses nearly at right-angles to the reef; and in the "Last Chance" Company's reef, Specimen Hill, a right-handed heave occurs. Auriferous reefs often heave other courses, proving, in such cases, the more recent origin of the former.

There is another subject to which my mind has been especially directed in reading these valuable papers,—the nature of the action which brought about the deposit of these reefs or lodes. Previously to reading these papers I had no doubt on the subject. I believed that the lodes were erupted in a state of igneous fusion; that they are interposed trap dykes thrown up from the depths of the earth at epochs subsequent to those at which the rocks, in which they are found, were deposited. I was, however, surprised to find that this theory is disputed by two eminent Australian geologists, Messrs. Selwyn and Acheson, both of whom stated in January 1859, that, in all the quartz reefs in every gold field in the colony the auriferous formation contained silurian fossils—the most delicate and beautiful organic remains—shell-fish, etc., in the most perfect state of preservation. The existence of these fossils does not accord with the theory that the quartz reefs were cast up by igneous action. During the succeeding month the former of these gentlemen, Mr. Selwyn, the Government Geologist, made a communication to Sir R. I. Murchison, (Notes on the Geology of Victoria), which are recorded in the transactions of the Geological Society (May 1, 1860, p. 145.) This document I read with great attention, believing that some further information on the above remarkable statement would have been afforded; but I was surprised to find that no allusion was made to the subject. I must, therefore, until that statement receives further confirmation, believe that these gentlemen came to this conclusion on data, that on further examination were found capable of an explanation less at variance with the experience of all other eminent geologists.

The annual export of gold from Australia, taken from "Escort Returns," is between one million and a-half and two million ounces. But when we take into consideration the large amount brought home by passengers secretly, we cannot

believe that the average amount is less than two million ounces, in value eight million pounds sterling.

This paper is not, perhaps, the proper medium of discussing the value of these gold fields as a commercial speculation. But having taken a very favourable view of the future prosperity of the gold fields of Australia, I fear that I shall produce a false impression, if I refrain from referring to a very strongly marked fact, illustrated by the statistics derived from these papers. Although a very large proportion of speculators who superintend the outlay of their own capital, and a large number of those who employ their own labour also, have been eminently successful, it does not appear that there is any encouragement, from the experience of the past, for adventurers in Great Britain to invest capital in Australian gold mines. It is not my intention to discuss fully the cause of this fact, but rather to state the result of my investigation of this subject. The share list exhibits seventy-two mines in the market. Out of this number sixty are at a discount, and* twelve only at a premium; and when we also take into consideration that most of those mines which are at present offered at a very depreciated rate were sold at the commencement of their operations at heavy premiums, we can form no other idea than that we have already expressed—that these mines are speculations far from encouraging the investment of British capital.

Although, however, we have come to this unfavourable conclusion with regard to the employment of British capital in the Australian gold-fields, we still believe that these mines will be very imperfectly developed until a much larger amount of capital is expended in conducting their operation. But it

* Two of these twelve successful mines form very striking exceptions to this rule. In September last the produce of "Golden Gully," Bendigo, was so great as to cause a rise to a premium of two hundred and seventy-five per cent., and the price quoted of "Clunes quartz" was thirteen hundred per cent. premium.

is not practicable that any capitalists but those living in Australia can possess the means of obtaining that class of information which is calculated to ensure success. Mr. Selwyn considers that the Port Philip, Clunes, Gold Mine is the only mine at present in Victoria where the requisites for success in gold-mining are to be found. These elements of prosperity Mr. Selwyn states to be good management, efficient machinery, and the mine being on private property, in which last case the operations are not liable to be "hampered by the very "obstructive rules and regulations made by the Government "and the local Mining Boards applicable to the Crown-lands." To meet this requirement large sums of money are necessary. In many instances prices are demanded for known auriferous land that no company could pay with any prospect of success, whilst on the other hand lands have been purchased at moderate prices by gold mining companies which are incapable of yielding a sufficient amount of gold to pay costs. We may therefore conclude that the advantageous outlay of capital in gold mines requires personal, local and scientific knowledge which we have no doubt will ultimately be generally acquired by Australian capitalists. In the meantime it has been asserted that the opinion entertained by eminent geologists, especially that already quoted from Sir Roderick Murchison's "*Siluria*,"* has had the effect of discouraging the employment of Australian capital in following the reefs by deep shafts into the body of the rock; but experience is rapidly removing this impediment if it still exists.

* Several Australian papers quote and endorse the following extract from the *Argus*, November 8, 1860:—"Sir Roderick never believed in quartz, and any "country that puts faith in its quartz reefs would be certain to come to grief. In "vain we get gold at depths of 300 and 400 feet; *Siluria* has said it, and it is "unknown what serious damage has been done to our gold-mining reputation 'because Sir Roderick refuses to be convinced, or to alter succeeding editions."

# ON THE COLEOPTERA OF THE DISTRICT AROUND LIVERPOOL.

*By Mr. C. S. Gregson.*

READ 20TH DECEMBER, 1860.

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It is about three years since I promised Dr. Hume to prepare a list of the Coleoptera found within twelve miles of the Exchange, and, in partial redemption of that promise, I now lay before you the present list of the Geodephaga or Carabidæ.

In preparing it I have been, if possible, even more careful to ascertain the exact locality for each species, than in my lists of the Lepidoptera; as I have not had the assistance of one helping hand, every locality given is the result of personal labour, and every locality has been again visited during the last three seasons to ascertain that my earlier notes were correct.

The British species of Geodephaga number about three hundred, and this list reaches about one hundred and thirty; I possess a few species not yet clearly defined, so that we may hope ere long to reach one-half of the known British species in our own locality. The absence, in our districts, of fresh-water rivers, which have a tendency to bring down mountain species during floods, will account in some measure for the non-appearance in the list of such species as Pterostichus, Aterrimus and Æthiops, and we can only hope to add to them by searching such localities as Bidston Hill, Prenton or Heswell Hill; but, being entirely without fellow-labourers in this branch of study, I have not been able to

give that attention to these districts which they require before they will render up their treasures, and as I am not aware that a line has been written on our Coleoptera by any one before me, I have not been able to take advantage of what may have been done by others. Resting the list, then, entirely upon my own labour, I must claim your indulgence if it is thought incomplete; but feeling how utterly useless it is to expect these lists to be perfect, and presuming it is better to have an imperfect list, which others can add to, than to have no list at all of the wonderful creatures living with and around us, I place my labours in the hands of the Society; my only hope being that, should any one traverse the ground I have gone over after this most beautiful, useful and interesting group of Coleoptera, he may have the same amount of pleasure and healthy recreation as I have enjoyed whilst in search of these insects.

## Order COLEOPTERA.

### Section I.—Geodephaga, MacLeay.

#### Cicindelidæ.

##### Genus Cicindela, Linn.

*C. Hybrida*, Linn.—Plentiful upon the bare sand hills at New Brighton, and at Crosby. Spring and Autumn.

*C. Campestris*, Linn.—On the moorlands around Claughton and Bidston, also on the mosses. April and May.

*C. Maritima?* Said to have been taken—not yet seen by me within the district.

##### Genus Demetrias, Bon.

*D. Atricapillus*, Linn.—Sand hills at Wallasey, amongst tufts of long grass.

*D. Unipunctatus*, Ger.—With the foregoing in Spring.

##### Genus Dromius, Bon.

*D. Linearis*, Oliv.—May be taken with the two preceding species.

*D. Agilis*, Fab.—Wherever old willows grow, under the rough bark.

*D. Quadrimaculatus*, Linn.—With the preceding species. Spring and Autumn.

*D. Quadrisignatus*, Dej.—Under bark of willows growing by the side of the Birket, in Upton Valley.

*D. Melanocephalus*, Dej.—On the shore under rubbish, and on the sand hills in tufts of grass at Crosby. Spring.

GENUS BLECHRUS, Mots.

*B. Glabratus*, Duf.—With the preceding.

GENUS METABLETUS, Sch.

*M. Foveola*, Gyll.—In profusion amongst the sallow beds at Crosby. Search under the moss and dead leaves on the ground.

GENUS LAMPRIAS, Bon.

*L. Chlorocephala*, Ent. H.—On the banks of the river Alt, at Sefton.

SCARITIDÆ.

GENUS CLIVINA, Lat.

*C. Fossor*, Linn.—On the banks of the Alt and Dey's Brook, where it is a little sandy, and banks of the Birket.

*C. Collaris*, Her.—With *Fossor*. June to Autumn.

GENUS DYSCHIRIUS, Panz.

*D. Nitidus?* Daw.—There is still a question as to this species being distinct or not; be this as it may, I think it safer to introduce it here; it may be taken in the swampy bottoms on the sand hills at Crosby, in June.

*D. Politus*, Dej.—I have twice met with this species freely; they were found each time in the large valley on Wallasey sand hills, opposite to Wallasey Village, on very hot afternoons in June, on the damp sand.

*D. Salinus*, Scha.—This species, the easiest of the large species in the genus to distinguish, is attached to the borders of any little streams which run into the river on the sand hills at Waterloo or Crosby. Its dull appearance and elongated form enable us to know it at once.

*D. Impunctipennis*, Daw.—Of all the species in the genus this seems to have given most trouble to our writers; it may be separated at once by the form of the foot. Sand hills, Crosby, &c. April and May.

*D. Thoracicus*, Fab.; *Obscurus*, Gyll.—This species, the most common and most variable of the genus, may be taken from tide-mark to the edge of the sand hills. June, July, August and September.

*D. Globosus*, Herb.—Plentiful in some damp holes near the public-house at Little Brighton, Crosby. May.

CARABIDÆ.

GENUS CYCHRUS, Fab.

*C. Rostratus*, Linn.—Common in woods.

GENUS CARABUS, Duct.

*C. Catenulatus*, Scop.—Anywhere under rubbish and old stones.

*C. Monilis*, Fab.—Is not a common species with us. I met with it first in Edge-lane; since then I have taken it in various localities throughout West Derby and once at Liscard. Mr. Johnson took several at Firgrove and Yellow House, by baiting. Mr. Cooke showed me one taken near his house at New Brighton.

*C. Arvensis*, Fab.—I have been told this was taken at Prenton Hill, a likely place but not quite high enough; I never met with it under 1,000 feet high on the mountains—shall look for it at Prenton.

*C. Granulatus*, Linn. — Plentiful around West Derby. Summer.

*C. Nitens*, Linn.—Sand hills and swamps in May and Autumn, sunning itself on bare damp places on the mosses in May—common.

*C. Violaceus*, Linn.—Plentiful in West Derby and Liscard under rubbish, stones &c. Spring and Autumn.

*C. Nemoralis*, Müll.—Not common with us, yet may be found with the above sometimes.

GENUS LEISTUS, Fröhl.

*L. Spinibarbis*, Fab.—Eastham Wood, at the foot of trees and under stones. Winter and Spring.

*L. Fulvibarbis*, Dej.—Jackson's Wood, Claughton; and Birch Wood, Woolton; found as the above.

*L. Ferrugineus*, Linn.—Crosby, edges of the sand hills. July.

*L. Rufescens*, Fab.—Birch Wood, and upon Crosby sand hills. Not scarce in July.

GENUS NEBRIA, Lat.

*N. Brevicollis*, Fab.—The commonest beetle we have. Summer or Winter, under stones.

*N. Gyllenhalii*, Schö.—I have two I took near Burscough Bridge, among a heap of stones.

GENUS PELOPHILA, Dej.

*P. Borealis?* Payk.—Two specimens in my cabinet from Bromborough I refer to this species.

GENUS ELAPHRUS, Fab.

*E. Cupreus*, Dufts.—In profusion around the lake in the sand hills at Crosby, near Bousfield's encampment ground. June.

*E. Riparius*, Linn.—With the preceding. May, June and July.

GENUS BLETHISA, Bon.

*B. Multipunctata*, Linn.—I possess only two specimens, one of which I took with the two preceding species at Crosby, but could never find any more: the other was not taken within our district.

GENUS NOTIOPHILUS, Dum.

*N. Aquaticus*, Linn.—Always with the *Genus Elaphrus* at Crosby, and in other swamps around Liverpool.

*N. Palustris*, Dufts.—On the banks of streams, particularly if sandy loam abounds.

*N. Rufipes?* Curtis.—In my garden in Edge-lane.

*N. Semipunctatus?* Fab.—Plentiful everywhere.

CHLÆNIIDÆ.

GENUS LORICERA, Lat.

*L. Pilicornis*, Fab.—One of our very commonest insects.

GENUS BADISTER, Cla.

*B. Bipustulatus*, Fab.—Prenton Wood, Stourton Quarry and Huyton Quarry. March to June.

GENUS CHLÆNIUS, Bon.

*C. Nigricornis*, Fab.—Banks of the Birket, and Knowsley Quarry. April and May—fine.

GENUS POGONUS, Dej.

*P. Chalceus*, Mar.—On the shore above Eastham under stones. June.

*P. Littoralis*, Dufts.—With *Chalceus*; and at Garston, on the shore about high water mark.

GENUS PRISTONYCHUS.

*P. Terricola*, Her.—Common in damp cellars and out-houses under pieces of wood in Winter.

GENUS SPHODRUS, Cla.

*S. Leucophthalmus*, Linn.—One taken in Murray Street and one seen crushed in the street behind St. John's Market are all I have seen; doubtless plentiful in the poulterers' cellars under the market; lives amongst feathers &c.

GENUS CALATHUS, Bon.

*C. Piceus*, Mars.—A plentiful insect on the Cheshire side under stones in fields.

*C. Cisteloides*, Pan.—Common in the poor land around the sand hills.

*C. Flavipes*, Fau.—A common sand hill insect.

*C Fuscus*, Fab.—Is rare here, so far as I know. Two specimens taken at Patrick Wood are all I have seen.

*C. Mollis*, Mar.—In every overhanging bank on the sand hills.

*C. Melanocephalus*, Linn. In profusion under stones after rain in the poor lands around the sand hills.

GENUS SYNUCHUS, Gyll.

*S. Viralis*, Pan.—On the banks of the river Alt, at Hightown. Not often to be found.

GENUS ANCHOMENUS, Auct.

*A. Junceus*, Sco.—Plentiful in damp marshy ground; comes freely to sugar.

*A. Dorsalis*, Müll.—This elegant insect is common everywhere.

*A. Pallipes*, Fab.—Under stones in the beds of brooks everywhere.

GENUS AGONUM, Bon.

*A. Marginatus*, Linn.—In the brook at the Copper Works, Seacombe, and in the brook at Crosby &c., beautiful and plentiful.

*A. Ericeti*, Pan.—On Simonswood and other mosses; scarce. I have one taken on Claughton Heath.

*A. Mœstus*, Dufts.—Plentiful.

*A. Lævis*, Müll.—Common.

*A. Viduus*, Pan.—Common.

*A. Fuliginosus*, Pan.—Is a scarce species, so far as I know; Eastham and Hooton being the only places I have seen it at.

*A. Piceus*, Linn.—The above remarks apply to this species, except that I have also taken it at Raby Mere.

*A.* ?—Not yet determined. From the same localities.

GENUS OLISTHOPUS, Dej.

*O. Rotundatus*, Pay.—I have a single specimen of this species taken in April at Stourton Hill, a locality which is not yet half worked.

FERONIIDÆ.

GENUS PTEROSTICHUS, Auct.

*P. Cupreus*, Linn.—Not uncommon under stones at the mouths of brooks where they join the salt water; bad to find elsewhere.

*P. Striola*, Fab.—Abundant in cellars and out-houses.

*P. Niger*, Ill.—Often taken with *Striola*, but distinguishable at sight by its white eyes and more slender form.

*P. Parumpunctatus*, Ger.—Around Bidston under stones.

*P. Oblongopunctatus*, Fab.—I possess a pair taken many years ago, but have no memoranda of them.

*P. Mandidus*, Fab.—Every variety of this variable species may be found plentifully around Bidston Hill under stones.

*P. Orinomus*, Steph.—Raby Mere and Sutton are the only places I have met with it at. Spring.

*P. Melanarius*, Ill.—May be found in damp out-houses about farm yards.

*P. Nigrita*, Fab.—Plentiful in the brook at the Dingle in Spring, under stones &c.

*P. Anthracinus*, Ill.—Under rejectamenta on the banks of the river Alt, near Hightown.

*P. Minor*, Sahl.—Everywhere under anything in damp places.

GENUS ARGUTOR.

*A. Verinalis*, Gyll.—Plentiful.

*A. Inæqualis*, Marsh.—I have only one specimen and do not know where I got it.

*A. Strenuus*, Pan.—Is plentiful on the sides of brooks under rejectamenta after floods.

GENUS STOMIS, Cla.

*S. Pumicatus*, Pan.—Is rather scarce on the banks of the river Alt, at Sefton, in June.

GENUS BROSCUS, Pan.

*B. Cephalotes*, Linn.—This is the only carabideous beetle I do not like handling; its peculiar smell is very offensive to me: the insect is confined to the sand hills and may be found in May and June, particularly under drift-wood.

GENUS AMARA, Bon.

*A. Obsoleta*, Dej.—About Wallasey Pool, plentiful.

*A. Similata*.—Is not scarce in the same place and elsewhere.

*A. Acuminata*, Pay.—This fine species was not plentiful where I have collected it. Wallasey Pool—now a dock.

*A. Trivialis*.—Abundant on fine days in Spring on the roads.

*A. Spreta*, Dej.—I have only two specimens; they were taken amongst *trivialis* and the following—

*A. Vulgaris*, Linn.—This beautiful and active *Amara* is always to be seen on the roads on the first fine days in Spring.

*A. Tibialis*, Pay.—Seems confined to the sand hills, where any quantity may be got by shaking tufts of grass in April and May, especially near Leasowe Castle.

*A. Communis*, Gyll.—Common and beautiful.

*A. Curta*, Dej., non. St.—One pair taken at West Kirby are all I have seen.

*A. Familiaris*, Dufts.—Plentiful in Spring anywhere.

*A. Lucida*, Dufts.—I possess two, one only of which was got within the district. Frankby, June, 1859.

*A. Strenua*, Zim.—I have a pair, but have no record of their capture. I took them, however, amongst *A. Vulgaris* and *Familiaris*.

GENUS CELIA, Zim.

*C. Orichalcica*, Müll.—Mrs. Gregson captured me a fine pair of this rare species, on the sand hills between Southport and Crosby, perhaps a mile beyond our district. Let it be well looked for nearer home in June.

GENUS BRADYTUS, St.

*B. Apricaria*, Fab.—The above were taken in company with this species; let every one of the *red antennæ* species be examined carefully for the above, and for the chance of finding *C. Brunea* amongst them.

*A. Fulva*, Deg.—Fine and plentiful on the coast.

*A. Spinipes*, Linn.—Near the water mill at Sefton, under rejectamenta, September, 1857-58.

HARPALIDÆ, Waterh.

GENUS ANISODACTYLUS, Dej.

*A. Binotatus*, Fab.—Wallasey Pool under stones.

GENUS HARPALUS, Lat.

*H. Azureus*, Fab.—With the above.

*H. Pubescens*, Pay.—With the above, plentiful. Spring.

*H. Ruficornis*, Fab.—In gardens, common. Summer.

*H. Æneus*, Fab.—Wallasey Pool, on the littoral of the river.

*H. Fulvipes*, Fab.—Under stones near gates of fields on roads.

*H. Rubripes*, Dufts.—With the above.

*H. Cupreus*, Dej.—I have three I took where the Great Float is now made at Birkenhead, August, 1858.

*H. Anxius*, Dufts.—I have a few taken around Puddington and Sutton, under rejectamenta in brooks.

GENUS STENOLOPHUS, Meg.

*S. Elegans?* Dej.—Two taken on the banks of the Alt at Hightown, June, 1859.

*S. Meridianus*, Linn.—Two taken with the above, one taken by Sergeant Johnson, in West Derby, but no exact locality given.

GENUS BRADYCELLUS, Er.

*B. Cognatus*, Gyll.—Under stones on Bidston Hill, in April.

*B. Fulvus*, Marsh.—Under stones on the shore. Spring.

*B. Collaris?* Pay.—Bidston Hill. Spring.

*B. Similis*, Dej.—Bidston Hill in tufts of heath; September. Also on the mosses; Sergeant Johnston, 1860.

GENUS TRECHUS, Cla.

*T. Discus*, Fab.—Under overhanging banks of the river Alt, between Hightown and Sefton where the soil is loamy. Shake the bank down and watch for them; secure as soon as seen or they are gone. June and July.

*T. Micros*, Hebst.—With *Discus*, not so pretty or so quick.

*T. Rubens*, Fab.—Frequents the same places as *Discus*, but is generally over before that species is out.

*T. Lapidosus*, Dawson.—All the so called *Lapidosus* I have seen are immature specimens of *Rubens* or *Discus*.

*T. Minutus*, Fab.—Plentiful in gardens and waste places.

*T. Secalis*, Payk.—Sandy banks of the Alt, in June. Not common.

BEMBIDIIDÆ, Waterh.

GENUS CILLENUM, Curtis.

*C. Littorale*, Sam.—On the shore at Aigburth under stones below high water mark, where there is clay amongst the stones, also near the Ferry at Eastham. This beetle is covered every tide. Spring and June.

BEMBIDIUM, Lat.

*B. Obtusum?* Stur.—On the banks of the Alt at Sefton. September.

*B. Biguttatum,* Fab.—At Garston, near the Salt Works, on the banks of the brook there.

*B. Æneum.*—Very common in Wallasey Pool in Spring.

*B. Rufescens,* Gué.—Plentiful with *Æneum.*

*B. Femoratum,* Stu.—Also abundant with the above and in Autumn.

*B. Concinnum,* Steph.—Plentiful where the shore is clayey on the banks of pools on the river.

*B. Bruxellense ?* Wes.—I have a single specimen. I refer to this species with doubt. I took it on the shore at Aigburth, in August, 1858.

*B. Littorale,* Oli.—Common and variable, but may be known from every other species by its peculiar smell, whatever its marking or shape may be.

*B. Lunatum,* Dufts.—The finest *Bembid* in the genus, is local in Wallasey and Bromborough Pools, but not scarce when found, under stones or overhanging banks.

*B. Saxatile,* Gyll.—When on the Aigburth shore with my friend Mr. Haward, of London, July, 1858, I took a single specimen of this beautiful species. Many journeys since made have been fruitless.

*B. Decorum,* Pan.—In the brooks around Raby, and in the Birket under stones. June.

*B. Stomoides,* Dej.—Having taken this species with my friend J. B. Hodgkinson, on the river Ribble, at Preston, in June, 1859, I tried for it in July, at Hightown. After a long walk up the river side, I met with it within our district: it was not scarce.

*B. Monticulum,* Sturn.—This species was in company with the above.

*B. Nitidulum,* Marsh.—I took freely the day I got *Saxatile.*

*B. Affine,* Steph. — I have always found scarce at the Aigburth clay banks, yet my friend Mr. Haward once took it freely there.

*B. Tibiale,* Dufts.—Common in the brooks on the Cheshire side, and at Dey's Brook.

*B. Ephippium ?* Mer.—I have a few I refer to this species, but am not quite sure about it. I took them at Orrell.

*B. Lampros,* Herb.—Common in gardens.

*B. Pusillum,* Gyll.—This pretty little species is not scarce in tufts of grass on the shore where there are muddy creeks, as at Bromborough. Autumn.

*B. Doris ?* Pan.—Here, again, I cannot speak with certainty without more specimens, but think two specimens, taken with the preceding, will prove true *Doris.*

*B. Quadriguttatum,* Fab.—Plentiful under bark of willows, growing on the bank of the brook between Upton and Moreton road.

*B. Quadrimaculatum,* Linn.—With the preceding. Equally plentiful.

*B. Bipunctatum,* Linn.—Freely on the shore beyond Crosby, at high water mark where there was a little mud. June, 1858-59.

*B. Velox,* Linn.—On the banks of the Birket, above Upton, under stones &c.

*B. Pallidipenne,* Ill.—In profusion on the shore at high water mark, at Crosby, under loose sand and rejectamenta. June.

*B. Paludosum,* Pan.—A single specimen from Raby Mere is all I have seen within our district. April, 1858. So cold I could not look for more.

*B. Flavipes,* Linn.—Was common where I got the preceding.

*B. Pallipes,* Dufts.—In a damp hollow near the bridge across the Alt, at Hightown. Common. June.

# POPULAR RHYMES AND PROVERBS CONNECTED WITH LOCALITIES IN CUMBERLAND.

*By A. Craig Gibson, F.S.A.*

(Read 11th April, 1861.)

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Sententious fragments of verse and proverbial sayings, in which names of places occur, have been at all times in high favour, and in frequent conversational use amongst the people of the districts wherein the localities they distinguish are situated. They are much sought after, also, by collectors of minor popular antiquities, of which they form an important and, to most of us, a deeply interesting division.

The contributors to that useful repertory, "Notes and "Queries," have gathered up nearly all the relics of this kind that are to be found in most of the provinces of England; and the Messrs. Chambers, of Edinburgh, have published a very full collection of those current in their own country, where they would appear to be more abundant than in other parts of the kingdom.

There is one district, however, with which I happen to be intimately acquainted, wherein many of these scraps of folk-lore still circulate, and where they have escaped, hitherto, the researches of all collectors. I allude to the western division of the county of Cumberland; and it is from this district that, with a few exceptions picked up in parts immediately adjacent to it, all the examples I propose to adduce in this paper are derived. With one or two exceptions, also, they have never before been published, and those only in works or publications of a local character. I give them a place here, because, either

from my knowledge of the localities they refer to, or from information acquired by intercourse with the class by whom they are principally used, I am able to give some account of their signification, and to throw some light upon their probable origin. I may state, however, that by far the major part of my gatherings is drawn from recollection of quotations by the country people, including persons of all ages, from the great-grandsire to the school-boy. With regard to the character of these scraps of the people's wisdom, I may also state that some relate to local or popular peculiarities—some record fragments of local history, otherwise little known—some predict events still in the future—some contain predictions that have been duly fulfilled, and it is probable that of these some may have had an *ex post facto* origin—some bear reference to topographical, to social, or to meteorological conditions—some to the details of household economy—some to those of agricultural management—some convey a sarcasm, a jibe, or a reproach—some tend to perpetuate an ancient grudge—some hold out a warning—some are meant to be facetious—and some are merely enumerative.

For the sake of topographical arrangement, I shall begin with one or two of the exceptional instances I have referred to above.

In an ethnological paper which I had the honour to read to this Society in a former session, I said that since the time of the great civil war, in which they were largely engaged, the people of the Lake country have shown more than once that the old fighting spirit, formerly kept in activity by the national disturbances and by their proximity to Scotland, has not wholly died out during a long period of disuse. Perhaps the most noteworthy and (except the corn and militia *émeutes* in 1801, when the men of Coniston and the adjacent dales rose in their anger and fell upon and took possession of the town of Ulverston) the most recent development of their ancient combative

propensities, at least to any extent, occurred in 1688, when, on the report of a rising among the adherents of the fugitive King James, the *posse comitatus* of Westmoreland mustered at Kendal, marched upon Kirkby Lonsdale, and there, on the discovery that the alarm was groundless, and after receiving what was needful of rest and refreshment, were disbanded. A contemporary Westmoreland poet has placed on record the leading events of this bloodless campaign, thus—

*"In eighty-eight wor Kirkby feight,*
*Whaar niver a man wor slain;*
*We yatt our meeat, we drank our drink,*
*An' than com' merrily heeam again."**

The manner in which this demonstration has been treated is characteristic of the indifference of the English mountaineers to considerations of mere glory or fame. They have always been ready to fight, and always steady and stubborn when engaged in fighting, but have never thought of making these qualities, or any special manifestation of them, the subject of self-laudatory comment, whether in prose or verse. In this respect, as in most others, their character differs from that of their neighbours to the northward, in whom the opposite tendency is marked, as has been shown, amongst other instances, in the manner in which the readiness of the Lowland Volunteers and Yeomanry Cavalry to appear at their mustering places, on the false alarm of invasion in 1804, was extolled as a wonderful manifestation of devoted patriotism, and the most trivial incident arising out of it recorded by various Scottish writers, from Sir Walter Scott downwards;† whilst the gathering of the Westmoreland men, on a precisely similar occasion, and of like if of more limited character, is celebrated only in this jeering verse.

On the eastern confines of Westmoreland the ruins of a very

* See "Westmoreland and Cumberland Dialects." Published by J. Russell Smith, London.

† See Notes to the "Antiquary;" Ballad of Simon and Janet, &c.

ancient Hold, called Pendragon Castle, are to be seen, and around these, as is said, the vestiges of a wide moat may still be traced, which, according to tradition, the royal founder of the Castle tried to supply with water by diverting upon it the course of the river Eden. His failure is yet noted in the following couplet:—

> *"Let Uther Pendragon do what he can,*
> *Eden will run where Eden ran!"*

The old British monarch whose name lives in this homely Westmerian rhyme was the famous sire of a still more famous son,—the king whose semi-fabulous history has furnished themes to poets of every century, from the sixth, when he lived and died, to the nineteenth, when he has lived again in "The Idylls of the King," and died again in the "Morte "d'Arthur" of Alfred Tennyson.

Thomas Hoggart of Troutbeck, who died in 1730, has preserved in his "testament," a manuscript collection, still extant, of his own poems and those of some earlier writers, a concise description of the now prosperous and beautiful village of Bowness-on-Windermere, which runs thus—

> *"New church, old steeple,*
> *Poor town and proud people!"* *

"Old Hoggart" appends to this an equally terse and still more libellous rhyming commentary, in which he favours us with his notion of the inevitable moral condition of a place with these attributes, but as it applies even less than the old rhyme itself to the Bowness of our day, it is unnecessary to reproduce it here.

The vale of Troutbeck, where, during the greater part of a long life, this Thomas Hoggart discharged the rather incongruous functions of cart-wright and play-

* I have heard a verse somewhat similar to this, but still less complimentary applied to Lockerbie, in Dumfriesshire; and Dr. Hume says that there is also one attached to Dromore, in Ireland.

wright, song-writer and censor-general, opens upon Windermere, about midway between Bowness and Ambleside, and, like the counties palatine of Lancaster and Chester, is divided into Hundreds. Each of these, three in number, maintains, or did maintain, a bridge over the stream, a bull for breeding purposes, and a constable for the preservation of order, severally known as the *Hundred* bridge, &c.; hence the men of Troutbeck have always been given to astonishing strangers by boasting that their little chapelry possessed three hundred bridges, three hundred bulls, and three hundred constables. It is probable that some revengeful victim of this quibble perpetrated the following :—

*"There's three hundred brigs i' Troutbeck,*
*Three hundred bulls,*
*Three hundred constables,*
*And many hundred feuls!"*

meaning, I suppose, many fools in each hundred, as the whole population will hardly amount to *many* hundreds.

In a district where the mountains attract to it more than its due proportion of rain, it may be supposed that the weather has given rise to more than one proverbial saying; and in very wet weather I have heard the dales-people say, "*We'll "hev to borrow Langden lid!*" This, I believe, arose from the reply of an old Langdale statesman to the inquiry made by a stranger, of "How *can* you live in this incessant rain?" "Why, badly enough sometimes; but we're thinking of having "a lid!" To those who know the district well, the appearance of the deep mountain recess called Little Langdale, "paled in" as it is by lofty, steep-sided fells, the idea of "a lid" or canopy over it may not appear so very unfeasible.

In that portion of Lancashire called Furness, which lies surrounded by Westmoreland, Cumberland and the sea, the character of the people, their habits and modes of speech are more like those of the two Lake counties than of that with which it is connected. A modification of a well-known school

rhyme, said to have been executed by an old farmer, who in his worldly goods had been subjected to the tender mercies of the law, is frequently quoted there.

> "*God made man—man made money;*
> "*God made bees—bees made honey.*"

So far the old school rhyme: the Furnesian variation runs thus—

> "*But the divel his-sel made lawyers and 'turnies,*
> "*And placed them at U'ston and Dawton in Furness!*"

Many of the performances of this rustic genius, who had the faculty and habit of answering all questions in impromptu rhyme, are still afloat in his own locality, but as, with the above exception, I never heard any that refer to places, they may not be quoted here. The following, however, may indicate their general character. On being asked, on one occasion, how he had contrived to upset his cart, he replied with exemplary candour,—

> "Carelessly, thou may depend,
> "Pu'ing away at t' helter end!"*

My reason for thus bringing into notice the humble author of these rude scraps is, that I hold him to be one of those, probably the last of his kind, who in their every-day talk have originated those unwritten adages, in prose or verse, some of which, handed down by successive generations, I am thus endeavouring to preserve.

In High Furness, which a favourite old topographer happily tells us, "mounteth up aloft, with high-"topped hilles and huge fels standing thick together,"† it is said that "*the towns are finished and the country un-*"*finished!*" The first part of this paradoxical adage has arisen from the custom of distinguishing Hawkshead, the only town the district boasts, as "a finished town," because it has

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* See the "Lonsdale Magazine."

† Camden's Britannia—edition of 1610.

shown no increase, either in extent or population, probably for centuries. The second part refers chiefly to the western border of High Furness, where the chapelry of Seathwaite extends along the Lancashire side of the river Duddon, in the upper part of its course, and the scenery is remarkably wild, so that the arrangement, or rather the non-arrangement, of

> "Crags, knolls and mounds confusedly hurled—
> "The fragments of an earlier world,"*

has given to the minds of certain imaginative observers the impression that the fair work of creation has been left somewhat incomplete there. Wordsworth has favoured us with an anecdote illustrative of this idea. A traveller who had arrived at Seathwaite over night, walked out before breakfast, and being asked, on his return to the little public house, how far he had been, replied, "as far as it is finished!"†

A romantic district is rarely fertile, and the soil and climate of Seathwaite are not favourable to the production of the finer varieties of grain. The high grounds are all sheep pastures, and the "few small crofts of stone-encumbered "ground," divided by dry walls and attached to each tenement, are devoted to the growth of summer grass and winter fodder for the hardy cattle, and of oats and potatoes for the equally hardy families. This limited range of agricultural produce is remarked upon in two jingling verses, wherein nearly all the farms in Seathwaite are mentioned :—

> "*Newfield and Nettleslack,*
> *Hollinhouse and Longhouse,*
> *Turner Hall and Under Crag,*
> *Beckhouse, Thrang and Tonguehouse,*
> *Browside, Troutwell, Hinginghouse,*
> *Dalehead and Cockley Beck—*
> *Yan may gedder o' t' wheeat they growe,*
> *And niver fill a peck!"*

The seclusion from the world enjoyed by the inhabitants of

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* The Lady of the Lake.

† See Notes on "The Sonnets."

this valley may account for the retention in their domestic economy of some primitive customs that I have not found elsewhere. Thus, in the fall of the year, a caller at any Seathwaite farmhouse will notice upon a hanging shelf, or some such repository, certain bundles of what looks like rather dirty straw, but which on examination turn out to be half-peeled rushes saturated with fat, and are the principal if not the sole provision made for the supply of light to the household in the evenings of winter. This means of obtaining light is very ancient; and in Tusser's husbandry may be found instructions for the manufacture of these greased rushes. It has, however, been so long in disuse elsewhere, that in the dales around Seathwaite a proverbial saying may be heard to the effect that "*A Seathwaite candle is a greased seeve:*" seeve being Cumbrian for rush.

Another domestic custom in Seathwaite has given rise to another proverb. Readers of Wordsworth will remember that in the notes to his "Sonnets on the river Duddon" he has immortalized a clergyman named Walker, recording many circumstances that tend to elevate that remarkable individual in the estimation of all readers, and, I fear, suppressing others that might have had a contrary tendency. Thus, he relates that Mr. Walker was in the habit of boiling on Sunday all the meat his family should consume during the week, that he might supply messes of broth to those members of his congregation whose homes lay at some distance. For thus reducing himself and family to the necessity of eating their meat cold during the remaining six days of the week, our great moral poet claims for his reverend hero the credit of transcendant generosity and self-sacrifice. He might have told us, however, that this habit of boiling the week's meat on Sunday was then the practice in all the households of Seathwaite, and in many is so still. Their meat, being dried mutton, is not very nice eaten hot, but when cold, is excellent, as I can well testify,

while the broth is simply detestable, so much so that people in the neighbouring dales, when they find their soup watery, their tea washy, their porridge thin or their toddy weak, will say—*"It's hot and wet, like Seathwaite broth!"*—implying, of course, that this is all that can be said in its praise. So that the broth dispensed so liberally, and at such a cost, to the distant hearers of "Wonderful Walker," may be said to be, like its chief constituent, "weak to a proverb."

"*We've no back doors in Seathwaite*" indicates the primeval character of their domestic arrangements, as well as their intolerance of modern household conventionalities. It is quoted by their neighbours to illustrate these traits, and is used, also, when any person of homely manners and habits is expected to observe some unaccustomed requirement of a more advanced state of civilization. It had its birth in a Seathwaite youth taking a basket of provisions to the front door of a gentleman at Coniston, and on being desired by a servant to go to the back, replying in a tone of remonstrance, "We've "neah back dooars i' Seeathet!" This supplies us with a proverb which applying well to the district it specifies, and being in common use, is yet of very recent origin. Its author is still living, and is, or was, a rather prominent member of the Birkenhead police force.

A saying that may be heard both in Cumberland and Westmoreland contains curious evidence of the inimical feeling that often exists between the people of adjoining counties even when they so closely resemble each other as do the inhabitants of these. The main line of communication between the central parts of both counties runs over the pass which, from the huge cairn upon its highest part, marking the spot where king Dunmail was defeated by the Saxons, is known as Dunmail Raise, also as the Raise Gap, or simply the Raise. On both sides of this pass old people still aver that "*Nought good "comes ower t' Raise.*" A similar axiom is current near the

coast where the road from Cumberland to Furness winds sharply round the foot of the mountain called Black Combe. The people of Broughton in Furness and of Bootle in Cumberland hold that nothing good ever came round that nook.

The old rhyme claiming pre-eminence of altitude for certain hills on the confines of Lancashire and Yorkshire is well known and often quoted. One of equal antiquity, but less known, though adduced in the "Britannia," pays a similar compliment, and, as has been proved by the Ordnance Survey, with better reason, to three of the Cumbrian fells, and may be heard still in their vicinity.

*"Skiddaw, Helvellyn and Catstycand**
*"Are the highest hills in all England!"*

Camden's notice (as given in his first English edition) of another old adage connected with our northern mountains, and current on either side of the Scottish border, is worthy of transcription were it but for its quaintness. He says—"As "for that mountain *Skiddaw* aforesaid, it riseth up to such an "heighth with two heads like Parnassus, and with a kind of "emulation beholdeth *Scruffell* hill before it in Anandale "within Scotland, that from these two mountains, according "as the misty clouds arise or fall, the people therebye dwelling "make their prognostication of the change of weather, and "commonly sing this note—

*"If Skiddaw hath a cap*
*"Scruffell wots full well of that.'"*

At the present day they vary "this note," especially in Scotland, and rhyme it thus—

*"When Skiddaw fell puts on a cap*
*"Criffel hill begins to drap."*

The traditional origin of the formation of Criffell, which

* Catsteecam, signifying the top of a ladder, or track available only to cats, is the proper name of this height. The old rhymster has altered it to make it meet a rhyming emergency. Sir W. Scott has done so to make it suit his metre and calls it Catchedecam.

rises in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and not in Annandale, is well known to the people on both shores of the Solway, and formerly was pretty generally accepted by them as an indubitable verity. They relate that one of the great works assigned to Satan by the wizard, Michael Scott, who was bound under a terrible penalty to keep the "Prince of the powers of the air" in constant occupation, was to form a causeway or viaduct from Scotland to Ireland. Satan was carrying from Cumberland, where the formation of the country suited his purpose, the first creel or pannierful of material for the earth-work, along the northern side of the Solway Firth, and had just strided across the mouth of the river Nith, when the straps supporting the load gave way, the laden creel fell and refused to be lifted, and with its cargo still remains there as the mountain. With this account of its formation in view, the name of Criffel is said, with apparent reason, to be a self-evident modification of Creel fell. The children on either side of the Firth often set as "a capper" a short sentence in which this fine hill figures, thus, "Climb Criffel, clever cripple," the rapidly reiterated pronunciation of which is perhaps the most difficult exercise to which even a well practised organ of speech can be subjected.

The tract lying between the foot of Skiddaw and the town of Keswick, and known as the township of Under-Skiddaw, is said to be one of the most rainy localities in England, and bears an unsavoury sobriquet on that account. Its moist reputation has given rise to this catch-saying, frequently used when rain is prognosticated—"*If it rains we mun dee as "they dee under Skiddaw.*" Should one of the unenlightened ask how they do there, he will be favoured with the satisfactory information that "they let it come down!" Perhaps this is what is now called "a sell" rather than a proverb, but no doubt it had existence long before "sells" were invented.

On the northern side of Skiddaw we find the parish and

village of Caldbeck, long famous for its richness in minerals. This underground wealth has given rise, at some remote period, to the following distich :—

> *" Caldbeck and Caldbeck fells*
> *" Are worth all England else !"*

The defective rhyme in this modest assumption may be taken as a proof of its antiquity.

*" A Borrowdale cuckoo"* is the proverbial title conferred by their neighbours upon the natives of perhaps the most picturesque of all the Cumbrian vales. It is said to derive its origin from an unsuccessful attempt made by the people of Borrowdale, in emulation of the wise men of Gotham, to detain the cuckoo for the whole year by erecting a high wall across the narrow gorge of their dale. However acquired, it is not patiently borne; and I should prepare for unpleasant consequences ere I ventured upon any allusion to the harbinger of summer in presence of a Borrowdale man. Of somewhat similar character, or at least conveying a similar imputation of wisdom, is the saying, *" It's a big world when yan sees it o', " as t' Loweswater lad said when he got on Mowerkin How !"* The beautiful little vale of Loweswater, unlike most of its neighbours, has its highest hills at its foot, whilst its upper or western extremity is closed in by the comparatively trifling elevation called Mockerkin How, which commands a rather extensive prospect, comprising the fertile undulated slope spread out between the mountains and the sea,—the broad and beautiful Solway, and beyond it the far-stretching heights of Galloway and Dumfries-shire. So that the youth who established this bye-saying, and so conferred upon his native valley the permanent repute of transcendant greenness, might be held excusable for committing himself to some extent on first emerging from its depths.

In the parish of Lamplugh, which lies adjacent to Loweswater, and immediately outside the mountain range, the

residents are called "*Lamplugh Hawkies*," after a peculiar breed of cattle on which they formerly prided themselves, but which is now extinct, being superseded by races of more profitable qualities.

The name of *Forest* still applied to many tracts of country now all but destitute of trees, is sufficient evidence of the vastly greater extent of territory covered with timber in ancient times than in our own; and besides this, we everywhere find traditions bearing upon the same fact. Thus in Annandale it is said that the Hallidays, who had their head-quarters at Corehead, near Moffat, could, once upon a time, ride upon their own land, in a "contiguity of shade" reaching from the De'il's Beef-tub, where the river Annan has its rise, to the point where it runs into the sea. As the beautiful stream that gives its name to central Dumfries-shire runs a course of nearly forty miles, this is no trifling boast even for a Border clan to make. The more modest as well as the more common form assumed by this tradition, however, is to the effect that a squirrel could formerly traverse the space, generally considerable, between two given places without touching the ground. In Lamplugh they have poetized this saying, and aver that

> "*From Lamplugh fell to Moresbee*
> "*A squirrel could hop from tree to tree.*"

This was probably true, however unlike the present state of the squirrel's supposed line of march. It is, at any rate, certain that Lamplugh could anciently boast of having arboreal giants in the land, for in Lamplugh Hall is preserved a large and massive table of oak, the top without joint or seam, but consisting of one broad plank, said to have been cut from the last tree that remained of the Forest of Lamplugh. It is very rare indeed that an oak is seen of such dimensions as to afford a breadth of sound timber like this.

These two lines—

> "*At Peel of Fouldrey we come in,*
> "*At Wheels of Whillimoor we begin.*"

are all that I have been able to recover of an ancient prophesy said to relate to the landing and subsequent proceedings of an invading army. "Martin Swart and his men," in the reign of Henry the Seventh, fulfilled the first half of the prediction only, for though they landed at Peel of Fouldrey, they did not approach the Wheels of Whillimoor. These so called wheels were certain circles of brighter verdure, three in number, as I have been told, apparent on the face of a high-lying moor near Whitehaven. They have now, I believe, disappeared, though held to be uneffaceable, and were probably what are elsewhere known as fairy rings, and here, as elsewhere, were regarded with a considerable amount of superstitious awe. Amongst other traditions attached to these rings, and probably forming part of the rhyme that contained the lines given above, is one to the effect that at the Wheels of Whillimoor, England will be three times lost and won in one day, and that a king's horse will be held there by a miller with three thumbs. This is one of the many instances of localization of the same tradition in different parts of the country, for a prophesy nearly identical with this is current in the south of Scotland, and ascribed to Thomas the Rhymer.

The district called Whillimoor, being perhaps the coldest and most sterile portion of agricultural Cumberland, gives a proverbial designation to the poor skim-milk cheese made in the country,—called also, with more aptness than elegance, on account of its tough and impenetrable nature, "*leather hungry.*" When exposed for sale at the annual cheese fair at Keswick, the farmers' wives were wont to announce its presence and its properties thus—"*Whillimoor cheese,—clear heath of durt and butter!*" While, as Anderson tells us, at Carlisle fair the proclamation ran thus—"Here's your *Whillimoor cheese,—lank and lean but cheap and clean!*" The Cumbrian minnesinger also says in one of his ballads that

"The Whillimoor ate tough and teasty."

An animal not generally supposed to be endowed with any leonine attributes is called "*a Whillimoor lion.*"

Considerably to the westward of these localities we find the parishes distinguished in this old saw—"*Let us gang together "like t' lads of Drigg and t' lasses of Beckermet!*" Mr. Robert Ferguson in his able and most interesting work—"The "Northmen in Cumberland and Westmorland,"—says that tradition ascribes the origin of this adage to a sort of double Sabine rape, perpetrated by the Norsemen, who built the still traceable Danish city of Barn-scar, and then carried off the young men of Drigg and the young women of Beckermet to people it. Whether the *lasses* of Drigg and the *lads* of the other parish consoled each other under this bereavement we are not told. I never heard of this tradition, and would not accept it if I had, for I believe the saying to have sprung from the arrangements observed on some festive occasion; or possibly from some infraction of a rule that was, and perhaps is still observed in the Church of Drigg, as well as in those of some of the neighbouring parishes, where the sexes are seated on different sides of the central aisle, as in Quaker meeting houses.

On the coast of Cumberland, within a range of some twelve miles, there are four sea-ports, the shipping belonging to which is mainly employed in carrying the produce of the great Cumbrian coal-field to the opposite coast of Ireland. The supposed, not the real effect of their staple article of commerce upon the complexion of these ports, is indicated in a popular distich which runs thus:—

"*Whitehaven blackbirds, Harrington crows,*
"*Workington sweeps, and Maryport beaux.*"

The strongly-contrasted epithet applied to the last may only be accounted for by (besides the exigency of rhyme) the possibility that Maryport formerly was engaged less extensively in the grimy coal-trade than her sister ports, an exception that may not, at the present day, be claimed for that stirring little

town, which is described by Charles Dickens as "a bit of "water-side Bristol, with a slice of Wapping, a seasoning of "Wolverhampton, and a garnish of Portsmouth—a great deal "too vaporous, and a great deal too rusty, and a great deal "too muddy, and a great deal too dirty altogether"—with "ships to load and pitch and tar to boil, and iron to hammer "and steam to get up, and smoke to make, and stone to "quarry, and fifty other disagreeable things to do."* The rhyme cannot be supposed to be of very ancient date, as Maryport only received its present name during the last century.

At each of these seaside towns the following scrap of weather wisdom is quoted by the ancient mariners who are always to be seen lounging about the piers and the watch-houses there—

"*The Isle of Man seen fair and clear,*
"*Is a sign of westerly breezes here.*"

Saint Bees' Head being substituted occasionally for the Isle of Man.

A rhyming invocation is sometimes chanted by young people of both sexes; the chant being accompanied by the act of throwing an apple pip into the air, and a response found in the direction assumed by the point of the seed when it falls. The charm is a common one everywhere,—the rhyme, as I think, is peculiar to Cumberland.

"*Pippin, pippin Paradise,*
"*Tell me where my love lies—*
"*East, west, north, south;*
"*Carlisle or Cockermouth.*"

Workington Hall, the grand old seat of the Curwen family, is said to have been the scene of a curious traditional incident, which has given rise to a popular rhyme. One of the lords of Workington Hall in the olden time is stated to have discovered accidentally a handmaid of the house parading before a mirror her rustic charms, decked out in the garments of her

* In "The lazy tour of two idle Apprentices."

deceased lady and continuously reciting this couplet, since become proverbial—

*" Whatever may hap, or whatever befal,*
*" I'll be lady of Workington Hall."*

The tradition goes on to relate that a younger son of the family returning from abroad, fell in love with this ambitious and far-seeing damsel, married her, and ultimately succeeding to the family possessions, fulfilled her somewhat audacious prognostication. I believe there is no trace of any such legend as this in the real history of this very ancient family, of whom Camden, in that pleasant manner that makes Dr. Philemon Holland's translation of the Britannia such delightful reading, says " They fetch their descent from " Gospatric Earle of Northumberland, and their surname they " tooke by covenant and composition from Culwen, a family " in Galloway, the heire whereof they had married; and here " have they a stately house built castle like, and from whom " (without offence or vanity be it spoken) myselfe am descended " by the mother's side."*

One of the minor halls of Cumberland called Warthole, not far from Cockermouth, has a rhyming saying attached to it which aptly illustrates one of the evil habits of the county. The yeomanry and well-to-do farmers in certain parts of Cumberland are still much given to card-playing between Michaelmas and Candlemas, when farming operations are comparatively suspended; and this propensity not unfrequently leads to rather reckless gambling, the favourite game there being unlimited Loo, or, as they call it, Running Lant, though the still less reputable game of Put is also frequently played, and for high stakes. It is said that a former proprietor of Warthole staked the whole of his possessions upon a game at Put, and at a critical point of the game exclaimed—

*" Up a deuce or else a tray,*
*" Or Warthole's lost for ever and aye!"*

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* Camden's Britannia, edition of 1610.

The tray, I may explain, in the best card in this low game. It is said that the cards thus invoked turned up as called for, and so for the time, saved the desperate gambler from beggary. The rhyme is still quoted when heavy stakes happen to depend upon a single card.

At Harrington they localize the common exaggerative adage "As old as the hills," and say that very old people or things are "*As old as Walker Brow!*"—an instance of the proneness of men to avail themselves of familiar objects in illustrating their every-day talk.

"*Three in a gig, Workington fashion,*" is a common form of reference to over-crowding of any kind.

"*In by the Flosh to Carel (or Carlisle)!*" is used in commenting upon a person's taking "the longest way round for "the nearest way home." The proverbial "*Whitehaven "fortune*" will hardly admit of explanation here.

A very resonant kiss is commonly said to "*sound like the "sneck of Pardshaw yatt!*" Pardshaw being an ancient village near to Cockermouth. When I knew it, the latches of its gates sounded much like those of its neighbours.

Allonby, a pleasant little sea-bathing place, formerly sent a vast crowd of boats to the herring fishery. These, on account of their small size and great numbers, used to be known along shore as "*The Allonby Midge Fleet.*"

There are a few proverbs that have been suggested originally by the mountainous character of the country, and one or two of these are worth preserving. Remarking upon the compensatory principle pervading human affairs, the old-fashioned fell folk will say—"*If there were neah fells there would be "neah deahls!*" leading to the inference that even with the wild mountains, the sheltered and generally fertile valleys render their rugged country, to themselves at least, preferable to a more level district.

In every part of the country we may hear persons or animals,

of peculiarly stout and hardy nature, spoken of as being "*as "hard as a fell teahd;*" a mountain bred toad being evidently the dalesmen's type of endurance and hardihood.

"*He breaks bands* like a Herdwick tip*" I have heard applied to a rustic scapegrace. The sheep called Herdwick are the small, active, restless breed of the mountain district, which my friend, Mr. William Dickinson, in his admirable and comprehensive "Glossary of the words and phrases of Cum-"berland,"—a copy of which is in the Society's library—says "are reputed to have originated in about forty, which "swam ashore from a wrecked Norwegian vessel. They were "taken possession of by the lord of the manor, and on their "increase, being found to be hardy and suitable to the moun-"tains, were let out in herds or flocks with the farms." These sheep are so liable to stray, that the farmers and shepherds hold a meeting annually at the little inn on Kirkstone, above Ambleside, the highest inhabited house in England, for the sole purpose of recovering and restoring those that have been found in the neighbouring herds; and they sometimes stray to great distances, passing through many flocks before they end their rambles.†

Verses of modern date, when they are "aw about Cumberland "folk and kenned pleaces,"—as the ballad goes,—are invested with an amount of popular interest quite equal to that attaching to any relic of antiquity. Hence certain scraps of rhyme, dating from the end of last and beginning of this century, and consisting of little more than a mere string of names, are familiar as household words in Cumbrian mouths; and as they come perfectly within the category of popular rhymes, I may conclude this rather loose dissertation with a few of the

* Band, a boundary on high and unenclosed land. See Dickinson's Glossary.

† In the Southern Lake district an illustrated octavo volume is published, giving pictorial representations and letter-press descriptions of the marks distinguishing all the herds of the district.

more prominent of these. The first I shall adduce is part of a well known rhyming invitation, addressed to the residents in most places within a circuit of a dozen miles, to one of the famous bidden-weddings or bridewains peculiar to the country, which was celebrated at Lamplugh, on the 30th of May, 1786:

———" Come one, come all,
* * * * *
From Whitehaven, Workington, Harrington, Dean,
Haile, Ponsonby, Bleng, and all places between;
From Egremont, Cockermouth, Parton, Saint Bees,
Dent, Kinneyside, Calder, and parts such as these."
&c., &c., &c.

The next is a verse from one of Anderson's ballads, which, besides standing high in popular favour, possesses some interest to the ethnologist, inasmuch as the places named afford one proof amongst others that this province was first of all occupied by a race of Cambro-Britons.

" There's Cumwhitton, Cumwhinton, Cumrantan,
Cumrangan, Cumrew and Cumcatch;
And monie mair Cums in the country;
But nin wi' Cumdivock can match."

Another, from the same source, similarly indicates the Danish settlements, which were very numerous in Cumberland.

" We've Harraby and Tarraby,
And Wigganby beside;
We've Outerby and Souterby,
And Byes beath far and wide:
Of strapping, sonsy, rwosey queans
They aw may brag a few,
But Thursby for a bonnie lass
Can cap them aw, I trow!"

The name of the first of these villages was, in the old riding times, a word of evil import to the moss-trooping clans across the Borders—Harraby being the famous place of execution on the eminence just south of Carlisle. Sir Walter Scott puts into the mouth of one of his favourite heroes the characteristic admission, or perhaps boast,—

" Letter or line know I never a one,
" Were 't my neck-verse at *Hairibee*."

The neck-verse was the *miserere mei* read of old by criminals who claimed the benefit of clergy. The place last named in these verses, Thursby, bears the name of the great Scandinavian god, Thor. Everard, the Abbot of Holm-Cultram, in the time of Henry II, relates that at this village there formerly stood a temple, containing an image of Thor. And the foundations of this Pagan temple are said to have been dug up and removed only within the last hundred years.*

A versified list of surnames is sure to be popular in the district where the names it contains are common, and in a poem called "Branthwaite Hall," by William Hetherington, such a list is given, purporting to record the names of those who followed Skelton of Branthwaite Hall on an expedition of reprisals into Scotland. It gives nearly all the names to be found at the present day in the villages and farms immediately circumjacent to the ancestral home of the leader, which consists now of a massive square battlemented tower, in good preservation, and still roofed in, with a modern farm house attached. This list of Cumbrian heroes the poet has arranged thus:—

"A valliant band the warrior chieftain led,
Inured to war, and all to battle bred.
The Robinsons, with big John at their head;
Watsons and Woods fought without fear or dread;
Ritsons and Rudds, the Hinds and Fishers too;
Wilsons and Walkers went—a valiant crew;
The Steels and Thompsons followed Skelton's tent;
Fearons and Fawcetts, Greens and Normans went;
Sanctons and Sims, the Allinsons and Dixons;
The Tomlinsons and Nicholsons and Nixons;
Leathes took Lancaster to battle field;
Kendals and Coopers, never known to yield;
The Harrisons, with Harris for their chief,
All went, tall heroes, from their mountain fief;
The Sandersons and all the Pows and Drape
Sallied from Clifton—few could them escape;
Tom Sparks and Emerson, renowned for speed,
With old Bill Mayson, oft made Scotsmen bleed;

* Traces of the Pagan Worship, &c., in Ferguson's Northmen in Cumberland and Westmoreland.

Fletchers and Flemings, Dickinsons went too;
Bankses and Blacks, or killed or scared a few.
The Heads were never hindmost, and Smith Tom
(Swainson his name) was never absent from
The field of fight, where honour might be won—
He had his share with Miles, his younger son.
The Bells and Bowmans full-yard arrows drew,
And Scotsmen fell where'er their weapons flew."

I would remark if some of the specimens of folk-lore that I have considered worthy of preservation be thought too homely or trivial for the transactions of this Society, that sayings or sentences, expressing the every-day wisdom, the ideas and habits of thought of an unlettered and primitive class, must of necessity be homely, but that homeliness, if decent and unaffected, does not imply vulgarity; that trifles form the sum of human history, and of our knowledge of human nature as well as of "human bliss;" and that every trifle which extends our acquaintance with any distinct portion of our fellow-subjects enlarges our sympathies and conduces to the increase and maintenance of kindly feelings between class and class, the rarity or absence of which, deplored by some of our truest philanthropists, is mainly due to the mutual non-appreciation arising from non-acquaintance. These convictions, and the example of distinguished fellow-workers in the same humble field, induce me to hope that the preservation of even the rude fragmentary remains I have here raked together may not be considered at all derogatory to the dignity of a learned Society.

# BOTANICAL NOTICES.

*By Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith.*

(Read 13th December, 1861.)

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The following notices of some of the less common Phanerogamous or flowering native plants of this district may prove of interest to several members of the Historic Society. Although the result of excursions eliminated from a very circumscribed leisure, they yet render information additional to what is supplied either by the "Flora of Liverpool," or its "Supplement;" which, when hereafter referred to, will both receive the former title.

*Monotropa Hypopitys*, Bird's Nest. Crosby, near the old Warren House, is given in the "Flora;" but the plant is not confined to one spot, and may be met with at intervals among the sand hills. This leafless and otherwise most singular vegetable production is uncertain and variable in its appearance, and occasionally remains invisible for several seasons together. It is parasitical, and its normal habitat is the hanging woods of beech (but occasionally of fir) which clothe and beautify many of the hill slopes of our southern counties, as at Selborne, in Hampshire, immortalised by Gilbert White, whose notice of the plant in question led the writer to examine it on the spot, where it still flourishes. Its occurrence, however, upon open level ground is very rare, if not absolutely peculiar to this district, and there can be little reason to doubt its generative growth from decayed roots of the common willow of the sandhills (*Salix Fusca*). The unusual amount of moisture of the past summer season has been peculiarly favourable for

such production, giving its favourite localities an appearance much resembling a bed of young asparagus.

*Narthecium Ossifragum*, the Lancashire Bog-Asphodel, although common on the mosses on the east, is yet scarce upon the west, side of the Mersey. It grows, however, in Wirral, though very sparingly—namely, on Irby and Oxton heaths; and bordering a rivulet near Claughton village it attains greater luxuriance than the writer ever noticed, even in its peculiar native county.

*Trigonella Ornitho-podioides*, or Bird's Foot Fenugreek, a pretty but diminutive plant, has been supposed to be confined, as regards this neighbourhood, to a spot on the Parkgate shore and Grange hill. It is nevertheless to be found upon the summits of Bidston and Heswell hills, and probably on most of the higher eminences in Wirral.

*Erythræa Pulchella*, or Dwarf-tufted Centaury, grows abundantly in the moist hollows of the common at Leasowe.

*Dianthus Deltoides*, the Maiden Pink, occurs in hedges between Liscard village and New Brighton, occasionally attaining a height of from four to five feet; but its bright starry blossoms, occurring singly, are seldom detected.

*Hesperis Matronalis*, Dame's Violet, grows sparingly in several moist plantations in Wirral.

*Silene Anglica*, English Catchfly, is by no means uncommon in cultivated fields in Wirral; at Great and Little Meols being quite abundant.

*Hypericum Elodes*, or Marsh St. John's Wort, in addition to the published localities, flourishes luxuriantly in a pond on the lower edge of Oxton heath.

*Viola Odorata*, the Sweet Violet, except as an outcast from gardens, is a scarce plant in the sandstone districts. The purple variety is found near Upton, and the white near Great Meols and Thurstaston.

*Hottonia Palustris*, the Marsh Violet, vegetates in the dykes of Bidston marsh.

*Hydrocharis Morsus-ranæ*, the Frog-bit, is found in the same places as last named, as well as in numerous ponds and ditches in Wirral.

*Veronica Buxbaumii*, Buxbaum's Speedwell. Naturalized about Saughall-Massie.

*Corydalis Claviculata*, White Climbing Fumitory, grows upon Flaybrick hill; but from this unrecorded locality it is fast disappearing, through the extensive quarrying operations here effecting.

*Thalictrum Minus*, the least Meadow-rue, is to be met with on the "Eye," or least of the Hilbre group of Islands, as well as upon Little Hilbre.

*Geum Rivale*, or Water Avens. Meadows near Woodchurch and Frankby mere.

*Sedum Anglicum*, White Stonecross. Great Meols and Hilbre islands.

*Sambucus Ebulus*, Dwarf Elder or Danewort. Near Grange.

*Dipsacus Pilosus*, Small Teazle. Preston brook.

*Samolus Valerandi*, Brookweed. Dykebanks at Leasowe.

*Habenaria Viridis*, Green Orchis. Liscard vale.

*Asplenium Marinum*, Sea-spleenwort, has been all but eradicated from its old habitats on the Mersey, and even Hilbre. The writer has found it growing sparingly upon rocks on the left bank of the river—an unrecorded locality.

*Ophioglossum Vulgatum*, Adder's Tongue Fern, occurs in moist meadows, near Leasowe, but the high grass in which it grows causes this plant to escape that notice its curious form would else obtain.

*Lycopodium Inundatum*, the Marsh Clubmoss, once abundant upon Bidston marsh, is completely banished thence.

The writer has had the pleasure of finding this scarce plant in a new locality, viz., Oxton heath, where it is of uncommonly fine growth.

Within the past twenty years several of the scarcer individuals of our local Flora have become eradicated or in other ways lost to the Mersey district, viz. :—

| | |
|---|---|
| *Geranium Sanguineum* . . | The Bloody Crane's Bill. |
| „ *Pratense* . . . | Meadow ditto |
| „ *Columbinum* . . | Long-stalked ditto |
| *Erodium Moschatum* . . . | Musky Stork's Bill. |
| *Melilotus Vulgaris* . . . | Melilot (white fl. var.) |
| *Artemesia Absinthium* . . | Wormwood. |
| *Campanula Latifolia* . . | Broad-leaved Bell Flower. |
| *Convallaria Majalis* . . . | Lily of the Valley. |
| *Allium Vineale* . . . . . | Crow Garlic. |
| *Silene Quinquevulnera* . . | Variegated Catchfly. |
| *Lycopodium Selago* . . . | Fir Clubmoss (Wirral.) |

# SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE LIVERPOOL BLUE COAT HOSPITAL.

*By Mr. John R. Hughes.*

(Read 2nd May, 1861.)

## Part II.

Having in a former paper, read before this society,* given a sketch of the origin and early history of the Liverpool Blue Coat Hospital, embracing a period of fifty years, viz., from the eighth year of the reign of Queen Anne, 1709,—when the Hospital, the oldest of our local charitable institutions, was founded,—to the death of its distinguished founder, Bryan Blundell, and the closing years of the reign of Geo. II., 1759-60, I now venture, agreeably to an expressed wish of several members of this society, to prosecute my task further, and so far as my knowledge, or means of acquiring that knowledge, permits, to lay before you a few facts which I hope may prove interesting. At the same time I am compelled to request the society's indulgence for laying before it so crude and hasty, and by consequence, so imperfect a paper.

Animated by the best and holiest of motives, our ancestors erected the Hospital, as they declared, in gratitude to God for the many blessings he had bestowed upon their "Port town;" and the Institution has, for many years, participated in the increasing wealth of the town, and stood forth, not only as a monument of charity, but also a memorial of the continuance among us of that spirit of religious dependence on Providence which actuated and directed the original founders.

In my former sketch I have endeavoured to shew the course and effect of the management under its early founders.

* Transactions, vol. xi. p. 163.

At the period of Bryan Blundell's death in 1756, when he had been forty-two years treasurer, there were 100 children wholly maintained, fed, clothed and taught on the foundation. The funds he left amounted to £7,150. His son Richard Blundell, who succeeded him, died 1760, leaving a capital of £7,650 and 120 children on the foundation.

I may here mention that, since writing the former paper, I have been shewn, by a gentleman of my acquaintance, an old deed, being the conveyance of a seat, No. 45, in the gallery of St. Thomas's Church, which had formerly belonged to the Blundell family. In this deed it is named that Richard Blundell died intestate. Finding in the Hospital records for 1760 a legacy of £100 made in his name, I was curious to understand how it had been paid. It appeared that among his memoranda, found in the Hospital after his death, was a written request that one hundred pounds should be paid to the School: this accordingly was the legacy so entered.

It is at this point of time, 1760,—the period of Richard Blundell's death,—that my present record begins.

Jonathan Blundell, the youngest son—as I gathered from the above-named deed—of Bryan Blundell, succeeded, 31st March, 1760, as Treasurer, on his brother Richard's death: his two elder brothers, Bryan and William, becoming his sureties, according to the requirements of the charter obtained in 1739, in a bond of £2,000, for the due performance of his office. This office he held for the long period of thirty-six years, devoting himself with singular energy to the development of those pious ends which he had seen his father pursue with so much fixedness of purpose and high resolve. Old age and its consequent infirmities could alone induce his relinquishment of it. In a letter addressed to the Trustees of the Hospital, dated 28th March, 1796, a copy of which is entered on the minutes—he states "now "being in years, and my health requiring me to live in the

"country, of consequence I find myself not so able to be of "that service to this charity I could wish." He then proceeds to direct that proper notice be given at the Exchange and in the Churches for choosing another Treasurer. This notice was agreeable to the charter, which directed that fourteen days' notice be given immediately after divine service on the Sabbath at both Churches (St. Nicholas' and St. Peter's) and at the Exchange. This practice is, of course, complied with even to this day. Before any Governor or Trustee of the Hospital, as well as Treasurer, can be elected, placards are affixed to the Church doors and put up at the Exchange. It is also incumbent that every Trustee shall be an inhabitant of Liverpool, or seized of property to the amount of £100 per annum in the County of Lancaster. The Treasurer must always be an inhabitant. The latter clause, altogether apart from private motives, while it deterred Mr. Blundell from holding the Treasurership, did not necessarily require his relinquishment of the Trusteeship, which he continued to hold to the period of his death, which occurred in 1801. At the close of his Treasurership, the School funds amounted to £11,220 principal, at interest. A pleasing as well as notable instance of "continuance in well doing," is presented to us in the history of those three worthies, Bryan Blundell and his two sons, who for the long period of eighty-two years, continued with noble self-devotedness and untiring zeal, to manage the affairs of this Hospital; and their descendants of our own day shew themselves equally zealous in behalf of its best interests whenever occasion offers.

Soon after Jonathan Blundell's assumption of the Treasurership, the number of inmates in the Hospital materially increased. In 1763, an addition of eighty children was made, making the number on the foundation at this period 200, viz., 150 boys and 50 girls. In order to accommodate the additional number, a purchase was made of Cheshire's

premises, adjoining the School, which were leasehold under the Corporation, and for which the sum of £780 was paid Mr. Aspinall, July 2nd of this year. A committee was appointed to survey the ground, which formerly was covered with tan-pits, and occupied by John Syers at a rental of £35. The Trustees proposed to erect a new building to run eastward from the end of the then School, to the end of the ground purchased from Cheshire, and therein to have proper accommodation for the whole number of boys, with the conveniences for work-room, lodging-room, dining-room, store-room, sick-room, &c. A plan was proposed which the Trustees approved.

The above mention of a work-room, &c., at once suggests to us that the children at that period were engaged in manual labour part of their time. The old records of the School in 1765 state also that £220 were paid to the proprietors of the stocking manufactory towards a building for boys to weave in. Jonathan Blundell, the Treasurer, was a partner in the stocking manufactory which was carried on in School Lane, and he with his partners proposed to the Trustees of the Hospital to employ the children in that manufacture; the proposals they made were so fair, and the pecuniary advantages so much greater than any which had before been realized from the labour of the children, that the Trustees gratefully and readily consented. This arrangement was continued up to 1771, when it was given up, the following reason, extracted from the Board-room Minutes, being assigned:—"Whereas several base reflections have been "cast upon Messrs. Blundell and Co., proprietors of the "stocking manufactory, as only consulting their own private "lucre and advantage in employing the children, and some "persons make a handle to withdraw their subscriptions; it "is now proposed by the said Mr. Blundell to discontinue the "manufactory and employ the number of children some other

" way, which proposal was agreed to." An opportunity offered in 1778, when the house and buildings lately used as a stocking manufactory, were let to Messrs. Craven, Rosson and Co., for spinning and preparing cotton for weaving: they offered to employ 120 children in carding, roving, &c., for the spinning machines, &c., paying to the Trustees in consideration of the childrens' labour a sum of £312 per annum, payment to be made *half-yearly in bills on London*. The children were to be subjected to no correction in the manufactory but that of the masters. Very soon after, finding from the deadness of the cotton trade that they could not employ 120 children, they humbly requested the Trustees to withdraw thirty, and the Trustees consented. In 1781, they prayed to be wholly relieved of their engagement, and a committee, appointed to enquire into the grievances complained of by Messrs. Craven and Co., reported that their complaint was just, and agreed that the children should be withdrawn, at the same time urging, that the children, in future, should be employed in " carding, spinning, roving, warping, and, if " possible, in weaving of cotton." For some short time they were enabled so to employ them, but in 1789 the cotton manufactory was given up, when it was resolved that, " in " order to promote habits of industry, the children should be " employed in manufacturing their own apparel till something " more profitable was adopted."*

The succeeding year " something more profitable" presented itself. Articles of agreement were made 20th December, 1790, between twelve of the Trustees and Mr. James Meredith, of Manchester, for the labour of 200 children in " pin-making," together with the house and warehouse situate

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* A respectable inhabitant of this town, now verging on four-score years of age, informed the writer that he well recollected, when in the school, weaving a piece of *velveteen*, and that he himself afterwards *wore it*.

in School Lane, during a term of eleven years. It may be necessary here to note that 280 children, viz., 230 boys and 50 girls were at this time on the foundation. To the number of inmates, which, in 1763 was 200, there were added twenty more in 1770, twenty in 1779, ten in 1781, ten in 1783, and twenty in 1787, making up the number as above stated.

The making of pins was decidedly the most profitable of any in which the children had been engaged, realizing as it did during the later years of the agreement, a sum of £450 per annum, but it was deemed detrimental to the children's health, and seems, besides, from the Treasurer's statement in 1802, which was the period of the expiry of the agreement with Mr. Meredith, to have been productive of "several "inconveniences to the house," as well as otherwise disadvantageous to the children, and it was consequently wholly discontinued at the end of the last named year. The Trustees at the same time stated that it was inconsistent with the object and intention of the institution—which was formed for the purpose of instructing children, not only in reading, writing, and arithmetic, but in the principles of religion—"to connect any manufactory whatever "with it." From this period the whole of the children's time has been devoted to learning, and a more liberal mode of education was soon after adopted.

In the list of donors to the School in 1802, the year in which pin-making was discontinued, are found the names of Messrs. James, George and Robert Meredith, of Manchester, for the sum of £21.

Having referred to the articles of agreement made between those gentlemen and the Trustees of the Blue Coat Hospital, there is one point to which I will venture a particular allusion. We frequently hear that in the eighteenth century old customs, festivals and holidays were much more—much

better, as some would say—observed than at present. In the agreement referred to, we are afforded direct evidence of this fact, as the following list of holidays to be allowed the boys will at once and clearly demonstrate :—

Christmas, fourteen days, (for amusement).
Good Friday, one day.
Easter, two afternoons, and from three o'clock the third day.
Whitsuntide, ditto. ditto. ditto.
Shrove Tuesday.
Ash Wednesday.
Conversion of St. Paul, 25th January.
King Charles's Martyrdom.
Purification, 2nd February.
St. Mathias's, 24th February.
Annunciation, 25th March.
St. Mark's, 25th April.
St. Philip and St. James, 1st May.
Ascension.
King Charles restored, 29th May.
St. Barnabas', 11th June.
St. John the Baptist, 24th June.
St. Peter's, 29th June.
St. James's, summer fair.
St. Bartholomew's, 24th August.
St. Matthew's, 21st September.
St. Michael's, 29th September.
Liberty Day.
St. Luke's, 18th October.
King's Inauguration.
St. Simon and St. Jude, 28th October.
All Saints', 1st November.
Gunpowder Plot.
Martinmas winter fair.
St. Andrew's, 30th November.
St. Thomas's, 21st December.

In connection with the subject of the children's employment in manual labour, I would note that a donation of £93 5s. 7d. is set down in 1766, from Aldn. John Tarleton, Esq., who had been Mayor of Liverpool in 1764, which appears to have been the value of five bags of cotton,

presented by him to the School, weighing 1,314lbs. at 17d. ℔ lb. As this was still the age of the "ancient spindle and "loom," while yet the great inventions of Arkwright, Hargreaves, Crompton and Watt were being matured, the fact is, perhaps, noteworthy, and viewed in respect to an occurrence which took place some eighteen years subsequently, and told on the authority of Mr. Bryan Blundell, who was a descendent of the founder of the Blue Coat Hospital, it is equally, if not more, interesting.

A consignment of eight bags of cotton, made *per* an American vessel from the United States, was, it is said, seized by an Officer of the Customs, who believed that cotton was not grown in America! The after history of these eight bags sounds to us in Liverpool, who are now used to such extraordinary importations of this article, as equally singular, viz., that, when thrown on the market, they had the effect of glutting it. Ultimately they were sold to Messrs. Strutt and Co., of Derby.

Having traced the various occupations of the children during the Treasurership of Mr. Jonathan Blundell, and up to the period of the entire discontinuance of all manual labour, I must now advert to other matters which seem to me to claim attention.

The diet used in the Hospital, when Mr. Blundell undertook the management, would seem to be little different from that which had been adopted some eighteen years previously. The caterer or House Stewards' Book of that period, has no entry whatever of diet. Now, however, (and for many years past,) a "Diet Book" is systematically kept up in the Hospital.

The following is the bill of fare which was read, approved and adopted at the first meeting of the Trustees after the exemplification of the Charter, in 1742 :—

| | Breakfast. | Dinner. | Supper. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sunday ..... | Bread, Beer. | fleshmeat, Plucks, Oatmeal, Bread, Beer. | Bread, Broth. |
| Monday ..... | Drinkmeat, Bread. | Bread, Cheese, Beer. | Bread, Milk. |
| Tuesday..... | Water Porridge, Butter-milk. | Pease Porridge. | Bread, Cheese, Beer. |
| Wednesday.... | Water Porridge, Butter-milk. | Pudding Pyes. | Bread, Butter-milk. |
| Thursday ..... | The same as Sunday. | | |
| Fryday ..... | Drinkmeat, Bread. | Bread, Cheese, Beer. | Bread, Sweet-milk. |
| Saturday ..... | Pudding, Butter-milk. | Dumplins, Beer, Butter. | Bread, Sweet-milk. |

Bread and beer seem to have been in vogue, not alone for breakfast, but also for supper as well as dinner. Quaint old William Cobbett would, very possibly, have highly approved of such fare.*

On the assumption that the bill of fare of all classes, a hundred years ago, assimilated in some degree, however remote, to that here adopted, so far as beer, perhaps, was concerned, one need scarcely wonder that ale and beer brewers were so plentifully found in Liverpool; the home consumption must have been something terrible, whatever might be said of the exportation. Ample proof is afforded us from many circumstances of such being really the case.

The bread used in the Hospital was, of course, at this time, made with leaven and so continued until 1800, at

* "Ordinary beer for ordinary fare," and "good fat ale for holidays," were themes upon which William Cobbett expatiated with delight.

which time "barm" being used in the Workhouse, where there were a great number of "kneaders of bread" employed, a committee was appointed to enquire into the matter, the two Rectors being of that committee, and the result, as was naturally to be anticipated, was a suggestion that the Blue Coat Hospital should adopt the same plan. The School report of 1800 makes mention, "That the bread is now made "with barm instead of leaven, the expense of which is "more, but the quality of the bread with the saving that "arises from being baked in the Hospital, very greatly over-"balances that consideration." Some seven years later there is a copy of directions for baking the bread :—

112lbs. of good seconds flour will gain 44lbs. in baking.—*Remarks on Baking.*

103lbs. of coals and cinders mixed were consumed in making three bakings.

Reference having been made to the Workhouse, it may here be stated that the Old Liverpool Workhouse was built on the land as well as from the funds of the Blue Coat Hospital, the parish paying to the Trust a yearly rental for the same,* but in 1771, much about the time of giving up the stocking manufactory in School Lane, the Workhouse in Brownlow Hill was finished, the poor were removed thither, and what had been the Old Poorhouse became in consequence untenanted. The Trustees of the Blue Coat Hospital resolved that it should be converted into warehouses, and a sum of £281 was expended in making the necessary alterations. To this day these warehouses stand at the corner of College Lane and Hanover Street, where there is a great gateway which opens into the court-yard, in which the old Poor-house, now known as the "wool warehouses," is seen. The buildings are of brick and evidence the fact that very little alteration indeed could have been required to

* *Vide* my former Paper.

adapt them to their present purpose. The rents of these warehouses form part of the income of the Hospital. While occupied by the parish the rental was £40 per annum—£80 with the wings;—but with slight alteration, involving the little outlay we have seen, the Trustees were enabled to let them to Messrs. Earle and Co., at a later period, viz., from 1803 to 1810, for 250 guineas; and from 1810 to 1817 at an advanced rental of 400 guineas per annum, so great has been the rise in value of buildings and land in this locality.

I must necessarily be brief in many of the notices; in some, perhaps, the character of the incident will scarce deserve a more than passing notice, if even that,—in others again, where I might esteem them of greater moment, I must needs be careful that I overstep not the limits usually assigned to readers of papers. On this account I will, briefly, record other and remaining circumstances during Jonathan Blundell's treasurership.

Exactly 100 years ago, in 1761,—when the great Duke of Bridgewater had given, by his example, an impetus to canal undertakings which proved of so signal and immediate advantage to Liverpool,—I find on the records of the Hospital evidence of judicious outlay in placing £500 at interest on the "Weaver Navigation." This sum was repaid in 1771.

The Annals of Liverpool furnish the next record that, in 1765, the "Old Church" organ was presented to the Blue Coat Hospital. From a notice being this year first made of the sum of £6 6s. paid from the School funds to one Ralph Parker for tuning organ, it properly suggests itself that the Trustees had no such instrument in their chapel prior to this date. The organ which they now have cost £230, and was presented them April 3rd, 1821, by the late

John Harrocks, a munificent friend of the Schools, to whom I shall again allude in the course of these pages.

In 1772, the proceeds of the sale of one-sixth of a tract of land were received, amounting, with interest from 29th September, 1767, to £218 0s. 5d. This tract lay at the end of the Salthouse Dock, and the one-sixth part was bequeathed to the use of the School by William Marsh, of Knowsley, under will dated 15th November, 1722. One of the heirs of Mr. Marsh, a Mr. Barnston, sold part of the land in 1768, to his Grace the Duke of Bridgewater,—this was much about the period of his canal enterprizes,—and received £200 for it. In consequence, the Rev. Mr. Mears, an interested party under the will, wished to purchase for a like sum the Charity's share. After some considerable time spent in negociation, the Trustees ultimately agreed "on "behalf of themselves and the other governors of the Hospital, "and of the poor scholars thereof, to revise, release, and "ensure to the said Mr. Mears, and to his good liking," the one-sixth part belonging to them, interest being paid from an agreed date.

Several other pious and well-disposed persons have, at various times, given and bequeathed premises and land to the use of the Hospital, and here I may mention that it has been the custom, from the period of obtaining the charter, to have a table of the names of all benefactors of twenty pounds and upwards hung up in the hall of the Hospital. More recently they have been affixed to the walls of the chapel, where they may now be seen.

An interesting, and to many a profitable study, is to be found in the contemplation of the long list of worthy names which these walls silently point to our view.

It has been to me a pleasing task, while looking over the School records, to note, not only the great interest shewn by the early friends of the Institution, but the

great tenacity of purpose with which—convinced they were pursuing a righteous work—they held on and persevered; conjoined to these advantages there was given to many of them "length of days" to consolidate their good work. I have adduced the case of the founder, who, with his two sons, managed, during the long term of eighty-two years, the affairs of the Hospital. I have now to make mention of the death, in 1773, of a more humble, yet valuable agent in the work of instruction, Mr. Houghton, the master of the School.

He had been the schoolmaster for forty-eight years. On his election, in 1725, he had a salary appointed him of thirty-six pounds per annum, with "diet and candles;" but towards the close of his life he seems to have been in receipt of fifty-six pounds per annum. His successor was Mr. John Smith, the usher, who had been brought up in the School, Ellen Smith being at the same time appointed mistress of the girls, who at the period was commonly called the "dame." Mr. Smith continued to be master till 1798, when he died, having been the head master for a term of twenty-five years.

Placing in juxta-position the long servitude of the two masters, a period of seventy-three years, with the servitude (and I use the term advisedly) of the three Treasurers, Bryan Blundell and his two sons, for a period of eighty-two years, the reflection pleasingly forces itself upon us, that these circumstances were of high and lasting importance to the Institution, and must have tended in no small degree to the permanent advantage of the School.

There being no letter of Mr. Jonathan Blundell's extant in the Hospital, save copies which exist on the minutes, I received lately with great pleasure, from a friend of mine, a letter, which he told me he had exhumed, along with other

papers, from an "old curiosity shop" in this town, where it had been buried. As it bears upon my subject, and was written during the period of his treasurership, though of a simple and very unpretending character, I venture to copy it.

"Liverpool, Mar. 21, 1778.

"Rev. Mr. Tho. Broughton,
"No. 5, Bartlett's Buildings,
"Holborn, London.

"Sir,

"Please to send me the books as under, a part are for the "use of the patients of our infirmary, and part for the children of our "Blue Coat Hospital, and oblige, Sir,

"Yr. very humble St.,
"JONA. BLUNDELL.

"50 Bibles.
"50 Com. prayers, new version.
"50 Dixon Spelling Books.
"50 Psalters.
"50 Christian Monitors.
"50 Present for Servants.
"50 Lord's Day.
"50 Drunkenness.
"50 Chastity.
"50 Stealing.
"50 Lying.
"50 Gaming.
"500 Christian Monitors.
"500 Dr. Sonehouse's advice to Patients."

From the foregoing, it is clear that it was not in one good work alone that he engaged himself. Additional evidence, if such were needed, may be had by a reference to Baines's "History of Liverpool," where at page 418 we have his name entered, along with his worthy father and brother, in the list of the first subscribers, 1745, to the Liverpool Infirmary, the institution he names in his above quoted letter.

Before leaving the subject of Jonathan Blundell's treasurership, I may point out that it was during his time the first

"Account Current Book" was kept in the Hospital, and from which it has since been customary to frame the annual reports of the School. The period of its adoption in 1782-3 was consequently the time in which the first printed report of the School appears, and a report has been annually issued since.

Nicholas Ashton, Esq., who resided at one time in Hanover Street, afterwards in Clayton Square, and still more recently at Woolton Hall, whose name is associated with everything good and great in the annals of our town, succeeded Mr. Blundell as Treasurer, June 27th, 1796. He continued to hold the office for one year, it being at the time understood that the office should thereafter be annual. The number of children in the School was at this time 300, the augmentation having taken place the preceding year; but towards the close of 1796 it was resolved again to increase the number from 300 to 320. Mr. Ashton, at the period of his death, was the oldest Governor and Trustee of the Hospital, having been elected in 1763. The report of 1833, in recording his demise, makes mention of the fact, that for more than seventy years he had been a subscriber of £5 5s. per annum to the funds, and was ever a warm and attached friend to its interests.

Clayton Tarleton, Esq., who succeeded him in 1797, died during his term of office, when Colonel Bolton, a name well known in Liverpool, undertook it for 1798. The number of inmates was at this time 327. As noted in another place Mr. John Smith, the master, died this year, when the Trustees resolved, "That a clergyman be appointed master of the "School, but that he shall not be allowed to officiate for any "of the clergy in the town or neighbourhood." The salary, including house and other advantages, was fixed at one hundred guineas per annum. They then elected the Rev. John Shakleton, of Thornton, in the parish of Bradford, to be master: Mrs. Shakleton to be matron. A head assistant

was advertised for, salary fifty pounds per annum, but no perquisites. Among the minutes of the following board-day it was entered, "That Lewis Richards, late assistant to the "Rev. Mr. Leach, late of Mold, Flintshire, in Wales, be and "is hereby elected assistant teacher," &c. Owing, however, to a complaint being made against the new master, charging him with, to say the least of it, acts of imprudence, it was deemed necessary to convene a meeting for the 10th May, 1799, to examine into such charges. Among the witnesses to his character the Rev. Mr. Shakleton brought, with others, Mr. Baines, the well known master of the Free School, which at that time was in School Lane, and on the Blue Coat Hospital land. After a patient investigation of the complaints urged against him, the minutes record "That having "taken the premises into our consideration, are of opinion "that he is unfit any longer to be master." Robert Parkes, of Liverpool, an excise officer, was elected to succeed him, the whole of the Trustees voting for him, with the single exception of Thomas Earle, Esq., who voted for Mr. Thomas Davies, another candidate.* The salary was fixed at eighty guineas per annum, besides the use of the house, fire and candles, and also perquisites on apprentices' indentures enjoyed by former masters, which were estimated at sixteen pounds more, making altogether one hundred pounds per annum.

To Colonel Bolton's office Edward Houghton, Esq., succeeded in 1799, and after him James Gerrard, Esq., M.D., became Treasurer for 1800.

The years 1799 and 1800 were remarkable as years of great scarcity, and as such could not fail to operate inju-

* The family of the Earles have always taken a most conspicuous part in the management of the institution. One of the family, John Earle, Esq., was Mayor of Liverpool in Queen Anne's reign, 1709, when the institution was first projected, and one of the Trustees, nine in number, first appointed. The present estimable Treasurer of the Hospital, William Langton, Esq., is likewise one of that family.

riously, and press heavily on the School. A minute to that effect appears on the books in 1800, when it is "ordered that "owing to the great arrears in the accounts, and high price "of provisions, the rule made in 1796 for receiving 270 boys "and 50 girls be for the present rescinded, and that till "further orders the number of both at any time shall not "exceed 300, viz., 250 boys and 50 girls."

When we consider the alarmingly high price of provisions at this time, we find every reason for the adoption of such a course. Recently, in the "Liverpool Mercury," I saw a "Lancashire Man's" reminiscences of two wet seasons. Of one of these (the period in question) he says, "I remember, "in 1799, the harvest only commenced on the 30th September; "all the wheat was unsound; meal was six pounds per load; "and potatoes a guinea per load." The four-pound loaf in 1800, consequent upon this state of things, was sold at the awful price—I can use no milder term—of two shillings.

Towards the close of this year, the Trustees advised "that "the tradesmen's bills be paid, and the Report published as "speedily as possible, and that the benefactions, &c., be "advertized in two newspapers." A strong effort appears to have been made to obtain benefactions, for it is remarked in the report, "Dr. Gerrard collected this year, total bene- "factions, £1,289 4s. 6d." Yet for all these efforts, the School was compelled to withdraw from the Corporation, "No. 1 Corporation bond for £1,000," and was in debt £1,474 16s. 3½d. I must assume that the good success of Dr. Gerrard must have spurred the Board of Governors, and justified, to some extent, the course pursued by them in 1801; for we find them at this time ordering, "That as "the distress calls for uncommon exertion," forty-six children be admitted, "notwithstanding the reduced state of the funds," they say, "trusting that, though they will, in consequence "thereof, be still further reduced, they may be reinstated in

"a future day." They cautiously put off, however, to a more opportune moment, sundry alterations in the premises which had been previously projected.

Turning from a consideration of these matters, to others of a dissimilar character, revealing to us something of the inner life of the boys, I observe it mentioned in 1800, that "Friday, the 25th July, being the fair day, the boys were so "determined upon a holyday, that they drew the staple off "one of the gates and went out, to the number of 107." It may here be convenient to place a reminder that the Liverpool fair was then held in front of the Town Hall, and continued during ten days preceding, as well as succeeding, the 25th July. That it was not then the mere form of a "fair day" as now, is well evidenced by the fact of the boys' obstreperous wish to see the fun of the fair. Several of the boys did not return immediately from the fair; for a catalogue of names, dated some days after, is found among the papers in the Hospital. In character with the circumstances above narrated, it is noted that seven boys ran away from the School, and one of them threw a brick into a mug shop, and "broke mugs," it is solemnly affirmed, "to the value "of half-a-crown." This crashing event took place in the same indecorous year 1800. In strict justice we are compelled to say, that it certainly was very bad; but yet, after all, the true philosophy of the matter resolves itself in the every-day saying—"Boys will be boys." Dr. Gerrard and the Trustees of his day seem to have been kindly imbued with the latter sentiment, as we may judge from the tone of the following regulation:—"that the money arising from the "sale of sundries, and also part, or perhaps the whole, of the "money received in the boxes in the chapel, or given by "any individual to any of the children, shall form one fund "for supplying them with balls, tops, marbles and other "indulgences, at the discretion of the master, save and ex-

"cept that the said fund shall first be liable to defray any "expense incurred by the children breaking the windows." The master had also his instructions to favour the boys whose "diligence, civility, cleanliness and decorum most "deserve it."

From an entry of this period I gather that the children were instructed in psalmody, and that their services were granted, as singers, to the different churches of the town; but in 1801 it was found that the attendance of the children at the different churches was very inconvenient—it was detrimental to their clothes—it gave them opportunity of rambling out, and committing many irregularities—it made them, returning from distant churches, late for dinner—and it caused further annoyance by their going to practice during the week days at all hours, even after dark, whenever the different organists thought fit,—all these things were urged against the system, and it was added, "It seems, indeed, to "be doing them not only a present injury, but perhaps laying "the foundation for their future ruin, as the talent for singing "makes them more desirable company for those who frequent "public houses. The examples of some of the instructors, "that of keeping their hats on in church, must in young "minds have a tendency to remove all awe for the place." For the foregoing reasons, it was resolved that the practice should be discontinued from the following Whitsuntide.

The Corporation, at this time, had notice to quit the "Free "School," or pay double rent—the smallness of the rent being pointed out to them. To the payment of an additional rent the Corporation acceded, and from 1801 £18 per annum was paid, for the short time longer which they continued to occupy it.

The Trustees having, in the early part of 1801, taken in a larger number of boys, in consequence of the general distress, felt themselves constrained, in the course of the same

year, to rule that "until the premises be put in repair, and "the funds in a more flourishing condition," the future complement of boys shall be 200.

During near two years Dr. Gerrard had occupied, with great advantage to the School, the dignified yet onerous post of Treasurer, and by his active and zealous interest in its behalf, had introduced many measures regarding the internal economy of the Institution, which from his special knowledge and ability, he was peculiarly fitted to suggest and cause to be adopted. On his retirement from the office, Wm. Cubbin, Esq., succeeded him, from 1802 to 1805.

Early in 1802 the premises in School Lane, consisting of the Free School and a house, together with the factory, &c., being considered in an untenantable condition, the Trustees thought of adapting them to some other purpose; but finding part of the property to be only leasehold, their plan could not be carried into effect without purchasing the reversion. The Treasurer was, in consequence, requested to enquire upon what terms the Corporation would sell the reversion, and to get Messrs. Foster and Eyes, at the same time, to estimate the reversionary interest of some property in Fenwick Street, belonging to the School, and in lease to the Corporation and Mr. Edmund Molyneux. This property, it seems, lay in the line of intended improvements in Fenwick Street, and it was, reasonably enough, surmised that the Corporation would be glad to have the inheritance of it. An exchange was made of these reversionary interests respectively—the Institution deriving a balance of £818 13s. 9d. The Corporation were estimated to pay £1,206 13s. 9d. for the property in Fenwick Street, and the Blue Coat Hospital £388 for the freehold in School Lane, making the balance as above stated. In addition to which, the Corporation appear to have made a liberal grant of some other part of their leasehold property to the use of the School.

The land and buildings which had thus been transferred by the School to the Corporation of Liverpool formed part of the bequest of Mrs. Anne Cleveland, under a will, dated 4th March, 1730, and which accrued to the Hospital on her death in 1735. It may, perhaps, interest the Society to have a few particulars of this property, which was situate in Drybridge (now Fenwick Street), the Old Ropery, &c.

Two dwelling houses and bakehouse, at the corner of Moore Street, let for £10.

A small bakehouse, adjoining the former, £2 15s.

One dwelling house, adjoining the last mentioned bakehouse, let for £3.

A dwelling house, at the East end of Drybridge, £3.

A small house, adjoining the last mentioned, £2 15s.

The ropewalk under the Drybridge, with a small warehouse upon the bridge, £2 15s.

A cellar in Drybridge, £1 15s.

Pertinent to the subject of the enumeration of dwellings, &c., in and about Drybridge, I may be permitted to quote an extract from a paper by J. A. Picton, Esq., Vice-President of this Society, entitled "Ancient Liverpool in its Buildings "and Architecture," read before the Architectural and Archæological Society, 4th December, 1858. He observes,* "When Moore laid out Fenwick Street, there was a ropery "or spinning place, in lease to Wm. Bushell, extending "westward a considerable distance from Castle Street. In "order not to interfere with this, the street was carried over "the ropery on a bridge, as was done, many years after, "in Newington. This went by the name of the Drybridge, "and is so named in the maps, long after the bridge was "swept away. The bridge is gone, but the lower part of "the ropery remains, converted into a street, under the old

* At page 31.

"name. In respect of this bridge, Master Edward Moore "waxeth poetical. There was a narrow alley running from "Castle Street to Fenwick Street, at one end of which was "the Drybridge; at the other end lived a drunken fellow, "named Thomas Bridge. Moore gave the name of Bridge's "Alley to this passage, and composes thereupon the following "verses:—

"Of old, bridges for water were,
"But these are made for other fare:
"The one for spinning—and, it's said,
"The other's for the drunken trade.
"Let this be set to England's wonder—
"Two bridges, and no water under."

The foregoing notice precisely accords with the condition of Drybridge at the period when the Blue Coat Hospital became possessed of the property in and about it.

It may be proper to state that a part of the above named property, held "under lease to James Rutter, tallow chandler, "and his heirs," had been previously sold to the Corporation in 1787, for £500: the total sum realized was accordingly £1,706 13s. 9d.

A condition was attached to Mrs. Cleveland's will, which ordered a payment to be made annually of £5 to one Coppell, and to her poorest relation for ever. This annuity is paid at the present day, to a person named Thompson, and, from what I hear, there seems no immediate fear of the heirs dying out.

Having procured, as we have seen, the reversion of certain premises and land in School Lane, the Trustees in the following year were enabled, after making necessary repairs, to let what had been the pin manufactory to Messrs. Mathews and Phillips, on a ten years' lease, at £60 per annum; and in the same year the warehouses in Hanover Street, to which reference has been made, to Messrs. Earles and Co., for 250 guineas per annum, and likewise upon a lease.

About this time an opinion seemed to be formed among the Governors and Trustees of the Hospital, that the welfare of the Institution required some addition to be made to the decree, and it was judged expedient to apply to the Court of Chancery for that purpose. Mr. Corrie had already mooted the matter as early as 1797, with a view, particularly, of increasing the number of Governors and Trustees, which at that time was fifty, as fixed by the original charter.* The opinion of Ralph Peters, Esq., was taken as to the practicability of making such increase, and following his advice, "it "was requested that the Registrar of the Court of Chancery "be enquired of as to the probable expense of obtaining a "decree to increase the number."

A proposal being made some time subsequently by Richard Walker, Esq., to purchase part of the land belonging to the Hospital,—the Trustees doubting their power of disposing of such land,—afterwards resolved "that a proper case shall "be stated to John Lloyd and Richard Hollist, barristers, "for their opinion whether a decree may be obtained for "enabling the Trustees to dispose of any land belonging "to this Charity, and apply the money raised by such sale in "the erection of another Hospital, and that Robert Richmond "prepare such case." Counsel's opinion proved favourable to the proposal, and application was accordingly made to the Duchy court to grant such powers. Certain other alterations and amendments of the former decree were at the same time proposed. Amongst others, it was sought to alter the quarterly and weekly days of meeting of the Board of Governors from Monday to

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* In Brooks's History of Liverpool during the latter quarter of the 18th century, page 65, there is seen a list of the fifty Governors and Trustees, first appointed under the charter in 1741, furnished by Anthony Swainson, Esq., who was formerly Treasurer of the School, and who has taken a great interest in its welfare.

Tuesday. It was stated to the Court, "that Monday being the "day appointed by the former decree for holding both the "quarterly and weekly meetings, is, by the largest part of the "said Governors and Trustees (who are merchants), found "to be an inconvenient day for, and prevents their attending "at, such meetings, by reason of a mail from London arriving "at Liverpool on that day (which it formerly did not), and "the mail also arriving on Sunday, the next preceding day: "and therefore Tuesday (on which day no such mail arrives) "would be more convenient for holding the said quarterly "meetings. And Friday (being the day on which no mail is "sent from Liverpool to London, and the day next preceding "that on which the great and general market for the said "town of Liverpool is held) would be the most convenient "day for holding the said weekly meetings."

These, and sundry other alterations and additions, were, with slight modifications, adopted by the Court of Chancery, and a decree granted in 1803.

Mr. Richmond observed to the Board that the decree was not closed, and recommended it to be left open, as he stated their present purpose was effectually answered; and upon any future application to the Court for power to sell any part of the premises, or for any other purpose, considerable expense would be saved. The thanks of the Board were rendered to Mr. Richmond, for his great pains and trouble in obtaining the decree, and "more especially for his liberal and exemplary "conduct in declining to accept any remuneration for the "same."

A special meeting, for the sole purpose of electing fifty additional Trustees, according to the provisions of the decree, was held at the Hospital, 1st November, 1803, when the following gentlemen were appointed:—

1. Henry Blundell, Esq., Ince.
2. Daniel Allen.
3. Mr. John Bridge Aspinall.
4. George Brown.
5. W. Beckwith.
6. John Brancker.
7. Thomas Bushell.
8. Thomas Beckwith.
9. Nicholas Crooke.
10. Roger Carus.
11. James Drinkwater.
12. W. Dixon.
13. T. Hinde, Esq.
14. J. Houghton.
15. J. Jackson, Esq.
16. John Keay.
17. J. Lightbody, Jun.
18. Thomas Leigh.
19. W. Leigh, Jun.
20. P. Leicester.
21. R. Makin.
22. T. Molyneux, Esq.
23. John Myers, Wavertree.
24. John Myers.
25. W. Neilson, Esq.
26. W. Naylor.
27. W. Barton, Esq.
28. Thomas Potts.
29. Thomas Rawson.
30. J. Swan, Esq.
31. John Shaw, Esq.
32. John Parker. Esq.
33. Samuel Staniforth.
34. Henry Clay, Esq.
35. W. Gibson.
36. W. Earle, Esq.
37. T. Case.
38. J. Leay.
38. W. Stanistreet.
39. S. Statham, Esq.
41. J. Booth.
42. W. Roe, Esq.
43. J. Mather.
44. W. Aspinall.
45. Cornelius Bourne, Esq.
46. Henry Dixon.
47. J. R. Freme.
48. Samuel Martin.
49. W. C. Lake.
50. Philip Orton.

The whole of these Trustees are now dead, the last survivor of them being Robert Makin, Esq., who died in 1859. It may be remarked that of the above number of newly appointed Trustees, three of them, viz., George Brown, Thomas Bushell and Thomas Potts, merchants of the town, well known in their day, had been brought up in the School, and through life manifested a great degree of zeal for the prosperity of the Institution.

Besides contributing liberally to its funds during their life time, all of them, I find, left to it also bequests at their death. Mr. Bushell, who died in 1838, left a legacy of 100 guineas; Mr. George Brown, who died in 1836, left to it £500; and Mr. Thomas Potts, who died in the same year, left £1000, to be paid at the death of his sister, who, dying in 1840, increased her brother's legacy, by adding to it £500 more.

The tablets on the walls of the Institution, to which reference has been made, record numerous instances of similar benefactions and legacies from those brought up in the School, who, in many instances, have chosen pointedly to identify themselves with the venerable Institution to which in early life they had been so much indebted, and towards which in after life many a noble and true heart has turned in grateful remembrance.

In illustration of the foregoing remark, I may instance a case from the very last report of the School, which came to my hands some three or four weeks ago. Among the list of donations during the year 1860 is found the name of "Joseph "Blackley, Esq., educated in the School, (5th donation,) "£105." This gentleman has now attained the patriarchal age of eighty-one years. He left the School on the 1st of January, 1794, to follow the sea, and having in process of time become a shipowner, and been successful, he has now for many years lived retired, enjoying a well earned competency. In 1854, sixty years from the time he left the Blue Coat Hospital, he went to the School, and remarked to Mr. Wood, the worthy head master of the Institution, "sixty "years ago I left the walls of this venerable Institution, and "I propose to give you sixty guineas, being a guinea for "every year since I left the School." This sum he accordingly paid, and it appears in the year's report, with a brief note of the foregoing circumstances. The last year, while paying the donation to which I have referred, he expressed a wish that a portrait of his, taken some half century ago, might pass into the possession of the School after his death. He left it to the Trustees to elect where it might be placed, his only wish being, as he expressed, that it might have a place in any part of that building he had loved so long and so well.

It is almost needless to remark that Mr. Blackley's pro-

posal was courteously and gratefully received by the Trustees, who have agreed to place it in the Board-room of their Institution. This Board-room contains portraits of the founder, Bryan Blundell, as well as many others. Application was made to the Trustees in 1804, by Hen. Blundell Hollinshead, Esq., for permission to put up, at his own expense, a full-length portrait of his father, Jonathan Blundell, adjoining that of his grandfather. Permission was readily accorded him by the Governors and Trustees, who requested him to attach to the same "an account of the great services rendered to the "charity by those worthy characters."

Pursuing the School records, I find that the children in the Blue Coat Hospital were attended during any sickness by the physician or surgeon to the Dispensary. This is seen on reference to certain rules printed in 1803, on the authority of the Board, respecting the admission, &c., of children, rule eleven enacting, "That the children who are "sick shall be visited by the then attending physician "or surgeon of the Dispensary, and by no other medical "person." The Liverpool Dispensary, from 1782 up to 1829, occupied a position on the South side of Church Street, between Post Office Place and the present Athenæum. It was thus, at this time, within stone's throw of the Blue Coat Hospital. When removed from the site in Church Street the Hospital sought, and obtained, the services of a physician and surgeon specially attached to it.

Following William Cubbin, Esq., who for three years had now held the treasurership, it is recorded that John Keay, Esq., undertook it during another three years—1805 to 1808. The new Treasurer was requested to lay before the Board an estimate of the repairs wanted to the Hospital, and a Committee was appointed to enquire into the real state of the buildings, and the best plan to be adopted for their repair. They were further requested to meet Mr. Foster, and with him to examine particularly into the matter. Mr. Foster

reported that the roof was good, but that the wood work of the windows was incapable of being repaired. We find, accordingly, new door and windows ordered, as well also "that the brickwork be pointed in an effective manner, but "no alteration to be made in the front of the building so "as to injure or affect its present appearance and general "character." The Earl of Sefton gave stone from his quarries in Toxteth Park to repair the front of the building. The value of the freestone given by him we find recorded, 29th December, 1807, to be £16 13s. 4d., at which time a vote of thanks was made to his lordship for the same.

The records of 1806 bear the name of Samuel Austin, entered as admitted into the School at this date, "since cele- "brated as a perspective delineator." In a valuable and highly interesting paper, read before this Society by Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., upon "Roscoe, and the influence of his writings "upon the Fine Arts," * reference is made to this gentleman. "Among the friends of William Roscoe"—enumerating those of an early date—Mr. Mayer adds, "at a later period Mr. "Austin, the well known water colour draughtsman, whose "original sketch of the house in which Mr. Roscoe was born "is now before you, together with a letter of Mr. Roscoe's, "confirming it as the place of his birth."†

During the treasurership of Mr. Keay, the observance of an anniversary by the children belonging to the various Church schools, seems to have first suggested itself to the Trustees of the Blue Coat Hospital. A committee of them was appointed in 1807 to manage a plan to carry this into effect. They appear to have been successful, for in 1809 "a special Board" was convened "to consider of the most

* Vol. 5, p. 151.

† Anticipating a little the order of events, it may here be stated, in connection with Art, that Richard Ansdell, A.R.A., whose name deservedly stands high, not alone in Liverpool, but throughout the country at large, received his education in the institution, at a subsequent period. A recent number of the *Illustrated London News* gave, with his portrait, a brief biographical sketch of this distinguished artist.

"eligible mode of appropriating the money collected at the "first anniversary in July last." At the present time, on or about the 18th June is the period usually assigned to the anniversary. Upon the last occasion the number of scholars in Church schools who walked in procession, headed by the Blue Coat children, was 23,563. *

The Treasurer of the Hospital after Mr. Keay was W. Leigh, Esq., who undertook it for 1808, and George Brown, Esq., undertook the office in 1809. This was the period of the School's centenary, and no more appropriate election could have been made than the placing of Mr. Brown, a former pupil, at the head of the establishment in which he had been nurtured.

On October 3rd of the year in which Mr. George Brown was Treasurer, John Harrocks, Esq., was elected a Trustee. In the course of a few years he gave to the Hospital various sums, amounting in the aggregate to £3,022. He died in 1823, and a handsome monument to his memory has been erected in the chapel of the Hospital. It was executed by Mr. W. Spence, of Liverpool. The centre is a pedestal, supporting an urn, and on each side the figure of a boy and girl, in white marble, are represented in an attitude of grief, mourning the loss of their benefactor. Upon the tablet is the following inscription:—

Erected
to record the virtues of
JOHN HARROCKS,
a man whose benevolence
knew no other limits
than the wants of
his fellow creatures;
and whose munificent donations
to the Public Charities
of his native town,
And particularly to this
Hospital,
are the noblest
monument of his own worth,
and the most
persuasive incitement
to the liberality
of others.
1823.

* From a general roll of the schools, kept at the Blue Coat Hospital.

A very good likeness of Mr. Harrocks was presented by Mr. Brown to the Hospital; it now adorns, with others—some already named—the walls of the Board room.

In the course of his treasurership Mr. Brown wrote a letter, of which I annex a copy, to the Rev. Mr. Blacow, which he obligingly submitted to the consideration of the Board. The thanks of the Committee were presented to him, "for a "communication so very honourable to his character, and a "convincing testimony in favour of the excellency of the "Institution."

"28th September, 1809.

"Rev. Richard Blacow.

"I again take the liberty of addressing you on a subject "which has given me some degree of concern. When I last saw you "at St. James' School, I asked the favour of your giving us a sermon "for the benefit of the Blue Coat Hospital, and was much disappointed "to find something had occurred that had given cause for your with-"drawing your kind aid in behalf of this Charity. I think I then "informed you I had been brought up in the School myself, and how "gratifying it must be to me being placed at the head of that seminary "under the roof of which I had been nurtured, and to which I, in a "great measure, owe all my success through life. There are now many "applicants for the few vacancies we have for both sex, amongst which "are cases most distressing. It recalls to my memory the time I was "an applicant myself, under circumstances no less distressing than any "which have this day come before me. I may here truly say, I applied "an orphan and they took me in, naked and they clothed me, hungry "and they fed me; under these circumstances it is natural I should "feel a more than common solicitude for its welfare. This emboldens "me to renew my application to you in its behalf, and I feel a flattering "hope that in again pleading to you (who so often holds forth so many "good examples) I shall not plead in vain. On looking over our "accounts I find our resources are very inadequate to our expenditure. "The collection at your church last year was £70, and has averaged "nearly double any of the other churches; to be deprived of such aid, "and at a time, too, when our resources are so low, would indeed be "severely felt. Do, then, my dear Sir, let me intreat in behalf of these "poor children, who so often pray for and lisp their blessings for those "kind friends and benefactors (amongst whom you have heretofore "been so conspicuous), for all the benefits they enjoy, that you will "revoke any determination you may have made, and that you will not "only allow us a sermon, but in order to make it the more profitable "you will yourself be our advocate on the occasion, in complying with "which you will not only essentially serve the Charity, but confer an "everlasting obligation on

"Your most obedient,

"GEORGE BROWN."

This earnest and tender appeal does not appear to have induced a collection to be made at St. Mark's, as is evidenced by the report of 1813, which makes mention of "St. Mark's "church, no collection since 1808." Yet it is but right to state, that among the donors in the year 1809, is the name of the "Rev. R. B., £2 2s.," which of course could be no other than the Rev. Mr. Blacow. The very report of 1813, just cited, has also entry of "Rev. Richard Blacow, "St. Mark's, £2," and other £5 subsequently. Whatever cause may have existed to prevent a collection being made for the School, and many causes may suggest themselves, I know, from other evidence than that I have adduced, that the School had no more firm friend than the worthy pastor of St. Mark's.

There is one part of Mr. Brown's letter which suggests a little history of his orphanage. He dwells on the fact of his own position, when an applicant for admission into the Blue Coat Hospital, "under circumstances," he writes, "no less "distressing" than any which had that day come before him.

He appears to have been received into the School in 1765,—the same year in which Daniel M'Lean, a late merchant of this town, and a great friend to the School, was likewise admitted—and so friendless was George Brown that he had no one in the world even to present him before the Board of Governors to state his case. At the tender age of eight years, an orphan, friendless and alone, he brought his papers and, with his own tiny hands, adduced proofs of his parents' marriage, his own baptism, his orphan condition, together with proofs of his possessing a settlement in Liverpool, required under the charter; and, without recommendation,* was admitted. On leaving the School, his condition and prospects were such as

* Anthony Swainson, Esq., who has been long connected with the institution, was my informant of the latter fact; and it is quite reconcileable with the other circumstances. He had heard it from good authority.

might aptly be described by a line in Milton :—

" The world was all before him, where to choose."

He chose his father's profession—the profession of the founder of the Hospital—the sea. Before, however, he had taken one voyage, his legs got entangled in a rope, breaking them both. For twelve long months he was compelled to lie on his back, and in a sick chamber! A very child of misfortune he truly seemed to be: but a brighter day awaited him. Having recovered from his accident, he determinedly continued to follow the sea, and ere he was twenty years old, became the captain of his ship; while he was yet but thirty years of age, was an owner of a small fleet; in process of time became one of the wealthiest merchants of a wealthy port; and, better still, one of the most exemplary of Christian men. Of his high character, the introduction to the Chapel Hymn Books, used by the children, bears this honourable testimony—" He was one who was no less dis-
" tinguished for his commercial integrity, than he was in
" private life for his unaffected piety and Christian benevo-
" lence." And who may tell but that his early misfortunes may have tended to make him great? The experience of men in every age of the world gives force to this assumption. It was said of one of the ancients,* that he invited his pupils to calamity, promising them, from a participation of it, increased knowledge, enlarged views and multiplied ideas. It is a beautiful, and no less certain truth, that changes of outward circumstances, while they have their inconveniences, bear likewise in their train greater and more abiding advantages.

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* Seneca.

# ON BOOKS PUBLISHED IN LIVERPOOL.

*By Albert J. Mott, Esq.*

(Read 10th November, 1859.)

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Our researches into the history of our town and neighbourhood will be complete and valuable in proportion to the degree in which they justly illustrate the conditions of human life and the actual influence of those conditions within the limits of our district. To set our opportunities side by side with our achievements; to measure causes by their effects, and contrast effects with causes; to see on the one hand what we have been, and on the other hand what we might have been, is not always easy or often flattering, but is at least one of the chief ends of historical inquiry.

We occupy a certain geographical position; we have under us a particular series of geological formations; we live in a climate of our own; on the surface of the ground we occupy there is a special growth of plants; a special group of animals; our atmosphere has its peculiar insects, our hedges have their birds and our shores their shells. In the midst of all are the ruins of human workmanship; the ruins, and at the same time, the records. Each successive race has left something, and over what they have left stand the towns we ourselves have built and the people living in them. Those living people are the issue of what I have enumerated. Is the issue worthy or unworthy, or in what measure is it a mixture of both? Have we made the most of our position on the map of the world? Are we the better for our coal and salt and sandstone? Have we been taught to recognise what is sublime by the storms about our coasts; what is honourable

by the faithful tides; what is beautiful by the northern lights, the medusæ, and the peacock butterflies? Contrasting the spirit of our own works with the thought, skill, and industry exhibited in our archæological remains, and taking the difference between present and past opportunities as an element in the comparison, is the result a satisfactory one? and, if we substitute moral products for those of the intellect and compare the moral character of our own generation with that of our distant ancestry, what kind of answer shall we get?

I think we are all agreed that it must be well to remind ourselves from time to time, that the solution of questions such as these forms a proper part and climax of our labours; for, the scientific investigator in almost every field is like the child gathering shells on the sea shore, not only through the comparative insignificance of his individual achievements, but quite as truly through the intense fascination and absorbing interest of the pursuit, which is indeed so great that we are too often content to go on filling our laps with the beautiful fragments or spreading them out before us to clap our hands over the show, instead of reading the graver lessons they were meant to teach by their relations both to God and to human nature.

In any age when books are written, our knowledge of any group of men and women is most imperfect if it does not include a knowledge of their literature. The books they read tell much—still more is told by the books they write. To inquire simply whether they write any books at all, is to settle many points of interest. To learn the titles of their productions is to enter into confidential relations with them. To ascertain the general style and method of their writings, is to see in outline a chart of their brains, and to read their books is to hear secrets out of their bosoms which can be heard in no other way. Not, however, that this is true without restric-

tion, or that it is safe to rely on books for every kind of information concerning the mental condition of the people who have produced them. They constitute, as it were, the zoology of the human mind, the concrete exposition of its vital forces. They are its fauna, and afterwards its fossils, and the analogy is borne out very accurately by the kind of knowledge to be gathered from them. They exhibit the results of their eras rather than the processes. We learn only a little about the actual details of existence, present or past, from a tiger or an ammonite. Their examination gives us no correct idea of the lights and shades, the forms and colours, the rest and motion, the minute and momentary changes either of an Indian jungle or an antediluvian sea. We know that their existence has been dependent on such details, and in its specialities we know the result of them, but they do not lead us farther. In like manner we obtain from books, only a very slight insight into the daily lives of men; the work, the pleasure, the attainments, the conversations, and all the other elemental atoms of the general organism. But they show the products; the ultimate developments of their mental era; and as the living or dead animals of any age attest broadly the general features of the earth's condition during the epochs of their appearance on it, so the writings of men enable us, with strictly scientific accuracy, to assign to different periods and nations their true place in that great series of mental strata which lie over and under one another like the rocks, mud-banks, and coral-beds of the physical world.

What is true in this respect of an age or a nation, is not less so of their sub-divisions. We have made it part of our special business to collect the materials of our local history, using the word in its widest sense, by an exhaustive process which shall, in course of time, leave nothing that is essential to a philosophical view of the whole subject, without a record in our transactions, and a knowledge of the literary products

of the district in recent times, sufficiently wide to make their general characteristics clear, is indispensable if we are to complete our labours.

The difficulties are great and peculiar. We know, up to a certain point, what books have been published; at least, what have been preserved by the nation at large; but there are no ready means of ascertaining which of them have been written in any given locality. If every book in the British Museum were examined separately, nothing like a local classification of them could be made. Numbers of books are published anonymously, and of the rest, very few contain any intimation of the place where they were composed. You may, perhaps, tell an Englishman's composition from a Scotchman's, and a Scotchman's from an Irishman's, but you cannot tell a Lancastrian from a Devonian by looking at their writings. None of our public libraries, moreover, contain more than a small portion of the books that have been published in the provinces. The only way, therefore, in which an estimate of our local literature can be obtained is by patient individual research. By local literature, I mean, of course, what has been written, not simply what has been printed in our locality. The knowledge is wanted as a gauge of mental development, and since the greater number of books composed in Lancashire are published in London, no just estimate of the whole can be arrived at by examining those only which have been published on the spot. Why I have, nevertheless, confined my own inquiry exclusively to the latter, and with the still further limitation of keeping to Liverpool alone, and not merely to Lancashire and Cheshire, and again, of excluding newspapers and pamphlets from consideration; and why, after all, I can offer the Society only an imperfect list of substantive books published in Liverpool between 1712 and 1850, will be easily explained.

Under present circumstances, our local literature can only

be examined in fragments. It was necessary to choose one of them to begin with, and I chose the nearest. It was equally necessary to adopt in this first attempt a plan that would be manageable without too heavy a claim on my own time or the space available in the Society's transactions. Manchester, Warrington, Preston, Chester, and probably other towns in the district, have all published books of their own, but an attempt to give any account of them would only have multiplied the imperfections of the present list. To have included newspapers and pamphlets would have been to increase the bulk of my catalogue enormously, and, I think, without a corresponding advantage, for one special reason. Pamphlets are not usually bound by their possessors, and are not, therefore, in most cases, readily accessible; they are put away in boxes, in bundles, in lumber rooms, and a catalogue reference to them would not often enable any one to find them easily unless a collection of them in one place had first been made. I think such a collection would well repay the trouble of making it, but that is a work distinct from the one I have undertaken. There is an additional propriety in distinguishing between books and pamphlets as materials for historical investigation into the literary aspects of any age and place, because pamphlets generally express the results of temporary feeling and rapid thought, while books reflect the writer's mind in its more permanent phases. The difficulty of getting together even a tolerable list of books alone has proved amply sufficient in itself, and although I have had the heartiest assistance from a number of gentlemen who have for years paid attention to the literature of the town, I am conscious that many books must have been overlooked, and that my catalogue can only be regarded as a first step towards the end proposed.

The Liverpool Library was founded a century ago; works of local interest have usually been added to it; the place

of publication is generally stated in the catalogue, and the catalogue of 1850 contains the names of between one and two hundred works published in Liverpool. These formed the basis of my own list.

Some time ago Mr. John Palmer, Bookseller, of Leece Street, compiled with great care a MS. list of such Liverpool publications as had come under his notice, from the earliest date up to 1820. This MS. passed into the hands of Mr. Mayer, who kindly lent it to me. I found in it the names of about ninety works which were not in the Liverpool Library Catalogue.

For the rest of my catalogue, I am indebted to a great variety of sources, including the collections of private individuals, the records of publishers, old advertising sheets, the Free Library and the British Museum.

On the whole, I imagine that few important books are likely to have been overlooked, but that the catalogue is, nevertheless, far from being an exhaustive one.

Some books have been published in London and Liverpool, or in London, Liverpool and other places. I have included these when I have met with them, but many of them must have been omitted, as they are classed in most lists of books among London publications. Many works, some very important ones, have been printed in Liverpool, but not published here. These, of course, I have not intentionally included, though I may have done so accidentally. There are some such in Mr. Palmer's MS.

Taking this catalogue for what it is worth, a few general considerations suggest themselves:—We do not get from it any comprehensive view of the literary life of our neighbourhood. It does not show the whole literary product of the locality, or any definite portion of the whole. We should be widely mistaken if we were to base any estimate of the intellectual attributes of Liverpool

upon the number, nature or merits of the books enumerated here. Nevertheless, it is, I think, a contribution towards the materials for our literary history, a sort of starting point from which further inquiry may proceed, and I offer it to the Society, in the hope that others will take up the subject and enrich our transactions with the result of individual research in this very interesting field. The field lies fresh before us. No record of the literary work of this district is at present in existence, and to create such a record would, perhaps, be impossible, except to a society like our own. Our members, however, are scattered over all parts of Lancashire and Cheshire. Each of them has some special knowledge concerning his own locality; he knows, perhaps, who have been the writing men in that locality during a given period; what they have written, and what has been the nature and the fate of their productions, and he could get together some brief history of their lives and their general relation to literature. If those who feel any disposition for the work would contribute from time to time information of this kind to the Society, we might get, I think, a series of highly interesting papers, on the authority of which hereafter the literary history of the two counties could be written with a fulness and degree of authenticity very seldom obtained. Mr. Smithers, in his History of Liverpool, published in 1825, seems to have had this subject before his mind. His curious biographical chart, and his short notices of the lives and writings of many men of local eminence, are good examples of the manner in which materials may be collected. Help will turn up also in various directions. The Manchester Free Library, for example, has already printed in its third and fourth annual reports, a list chronologically arranged, of several hundred publications illustrating the local affairs of Manchester and its neighbourhood. These are chiefly pamphlets, and the commercial and political, rather than the

literary history of the city, have been uppermost in the minds of the collectors. The list, however, is highly interesting and valuable in every point of view.

The first book entered in my catalogue, the earliest Liverpool book known to exist, is a small collection of hymns made by Charles Owen, a Presbyterian minister at Warrington, printed in Liverpool in 1712. The book is "printed by "Samuel Terry, for Daniel Birchall." I find by the old records at the Town Hall, that Daniel Birchall, having a wife and six children, and an estate of £24 a-year, applied for his freedom in November, 1707, and got his application rejected. He was admitted, however, in October, 1708, "paying £8 "and giving good security." Samuel Terry is entered as admitted, paying eight guineas and giving security, on May 7th, 1712, but he refused to accept the grant. There is nothing beyond the names, however, to identify the individuals.

The next book is of the same date, but may possibly never have been printed. It was advertised as in preparation, however, in the "Leverpoole Courant," of July, 1712, mentioned by Mr. Brooke in his History of Liverpool. Samuel Terry, of Dale Street, who printed Mr. Owen's hymn book, was also the printer of the "Leverpoole Courant," and as he ventured to start a newspaper and possessed Greek type, was employed to print a book for Warrington, and had at least one other volume in hand in the same year, we may conclude that he was well established as a printer, and that still earlier works had probably issued from his press. It was in this same year, 1712, during the negociations which ended in the peace of Utrecht, that the first stamp-duty was laid upon newspapers, a few months after the first issue of the "Leverpoole Courant." Many papers were extinguished by the tax; probably this among them, for we hear no more of it. Mr. Smithers refers to a sermon printed by Terry in 1719. Palmer mentions the

"Courant" (No. 18, July, 1712), in his MS. list. He says there are two woodcuts on it; one of Orpheus, the other of Mercury.

The next work in my catalogue, the "Liverpool Magazine," 1727, is apochryphal. Mr. Palmer has informed me that he saw it mentioned in an old bookseller's catalogue. The date, however, is four years before the first appearance of the "Gentleman's Magazine," and it seems doubtful whether any magazine, so called, was established earlier.

In 1736 we come into clear day-light again, and begin a series of literary productions never afterwards interrupted for any length of time. Seacome's "Memoirs of the House of "Stanley," of that date, has been re-printed with various additions many times.

In 1738, an important work on the Sea-coast of the Neighbourhood, was published, written by Samuel Fearon and John Eyes, with charts drawn from actual survey. This is the first Liverpool folio book that I have met with.

In 1748 Peter Whitfield, a printer in Liverpool, published "A Dissertation on the Hebrew Vowel Points," written by himself. The book consists of 288 4to. pages, and is extremely well printed. There is a great quantity of Hebrew type, and a good deal of Greek. The author writes to prove the vowel points to have been original and essential parts of the language. He argues that the written language could not, at any time, have been intelligible without them, and especially that the old marginal notes of Hebrew Bibles are not to be satisfactorily accounted for on any other hypothesis. I am, of course, unable to say anything about the value of his argument, which is opposed, I think, to the conclusions of modern philology. Palmer, by mistake, attributes this book to *George* Whitfield; meaning, probably, the founder of Calvinistic Methodism, who preached several times in Liverpool a few years after the date of its publication (in 1755).

In the following year, 1749, Mr. Peter Whitfield published another able and interesting work on the claims of the Roman Catholic Church. It consists of 200 4to. pages, and contains a number of hymns and prayers addressed to the Virgin and the Saints, quoted from Roman Catholic rituals; among them a hymn to St. Catherine in Latin rhyme, somewhat in the manner of the Stabat Mater.

From 1751 to 1760 my list contains the names of twenty-two books. Among them are two theological works published in 1754, two curious volumes of songs and music, and the first and second printed catalogues of the Liverpool Library, dated 1758 and 1760. It is interesting to compare these little catalogues of less than 1,000 volumes, with the six or seven hundred closely printed pages which now record the possessions of the first provincial circulating library in the kingdom.

From 1761 to 1770 there are nine entries. One of them is "The Principles and Duties of Christianity," in Manx and English, 1761, a reprint of Bishop Wilson's work. In the same year were published two very curious collections of the addresses, squibs, &c., issued during the election of the Borough Members, with a list of the poll. A copy is in the Liverpool Library.

In 1763 appeared a Form of Psalms and Prayers for Protestant Dissenters, compiled for the use of the congregation meeting in the Octagon Chapel, Temple Court, afterwards St. Catherine's Church. The service is a Unitarian one and is well printed. There is a copy in the Liverpool Library, whose third catalogue, printed in 1770, is the last book in this decade. The first of Gore's Liverpool Directories was published in 1766.

From 1771 to 1780, I have still but few entries. There is a work on the Liverpool Spa Water, by Dr. Houlston, published 1773. The water question, in one form or other, seems

to have had an early interest here. In 1777 appeared a volume of Dialogues on Friendship and Society, by Mrs. Dobson; a translation of Horace, by Dr. Green; the first edition of Hutchinson's Practical Seamanship, and "Mount "Pleasant," by William Roscoe. "Mount Pleasant" was printed at Warrington and published in Liverpool and London. My catalogue shows the effect of Roscoe's influence on the literary habits of the town. In the next decade, from 1781 to 1790 the increase in the number of books is considerable, and from 1791 to 1800 it is very large.

In 1783, an octavo volume of more than 400 pages came out; a narrative of the Rise and Progress of Differences in the Roman Catholic Congregation in Liverpool. On opening this book I thought I had picked up a curiosity, for the date on the title page is 1583 in Roman numerals; a date at which one did not expect to find here either a printer or a Roman Catholic congregation. The book, I am sorry to say, is very dull indeed. A "Medical Survey of Liverpool," by Moss, published in 1784, is, on the other hand, exceedingly interesting. The writer describes the appearance of the docks; the private signals at Bidstone; the ringing of the bells at the approach of a ship; the pebble pavements and open sewers. He holds up Manchester as an example of public improvement; speaks of Wigan coal as being lately used; mentions Burton ale, and describes London porter as the most singular of malt liquors; refers to the great number of inhabitants who have resided more or less in the West Indies, and has a number of pleasant remarks about miscellaneous matters, such as church-yards, water-carts, bleeding, and passing-bells.

In 1787-88, a controversy on the subject of the Slave Trade, between Roscoe and the Rev. Raymond Harris, illustrates the beginning of Wilberforce's agitation. A number of pamphlets appeared on this subject, many of which

are in the Liverpool Library. In 1790 the poll list, with a collection of electioneering papers, was again published. The papers are hardly so spirited as those of 1761, and on the last page the publisher, T. Johnson, apologizes for a trifling change of plan, in a passage in which sense and grammar are in delightful confusion.

In 1791 an enlarged edition of Hutchinson's Treatise on Naval Architecture was published by T. Billinge. The fourth edition was published in 1794. In 1792 we have a 4to. volume of Scenes in the Lake Districts, engraved by Rosenberg, and a work on Duties and Drawbacks, the first I have got noted in my list as of M'Creery's printing. Palmer mentions the anonymous History of Liverpool, published in 1795. The author's name appears to have been Wallace. In the same year the Life of Lorenzo de' Medici appeared, in two 4to. volumes. In 1796 M'Creery printed an elaborate catalogue of all the known works of Rembrandt and three of his scholars. There was also published an interesting little volume, the Journal of a Campaign in Flanders under Earl Moira, in 1794-95, not a very brilliant campaign, but the habits of the soldiers are well described. At page 20, the writer mentions "the favorite and popular good old song "of 'God Save Great George our King;'" old already, but not yet the "National Anthem," it would seem.

Our predestined association with the water question crops out in 1797, in the shape of "Medical Reports on Water as "a Remedy in Fever, &c.," by Dr. Currie, the husband of William Wallace's descendant, and the biographer of Burns. In this case we have no reason to regret our destiny. Dr. Currie's well known work reached a second edition in 1798, and a third in 1804, the year before he died, and was, I think, the first book in which the value of hydropathic treatment in certain diseases was suggested. In 1798 appeared the four numbers of "The Student;" in 1799, Moss's "Liverpool

"Guide," and in 1800, Dr. Currie's "Life and Works of "Burns," in 4 vols. It was printed by M'Creery. In the same year "The Nurse," translated by Roscoe, first published in 4to., 1798, went through two 8vo. editions; a third was published in 1804.

From 1801 to 1810 I have a large number of entries in my catalogue. Evan's Essays on Commercial Laws appeared in 1801. In 1802, the Catalogue of the Athenæum Library; a translation of Solomon Gessner's works; the curious "Memoirs of the Year 2,500," altered by the translator from 2,440 in the original; Dr. Shepherd's Life of Poggio Bracciolini, and several other works. In 1803, M'Creery's well known poem, "The Press," of which a second part was published twenty-four years afterwards, in London. In 1804, Dr. Bostock's work on Respiration, and a second edition of the Memoirs of the Young Roscius; in 1805, the first edition of Leo the X, (the second in 1806); M'Callum's "Travels "in Trinidad;" the lesser poems of Ossian, and other works. In 1807, Dr. Bostock on the Reform of Pharmaceutical Nomenclature. In 1808, the first volume of poems by Felicia Dorothea Browne was published here, as well as Tartt's "Odes and Sonnets," Noble's "Blackheath," and another volume of Ossian; a poetical epoch for Liverpool. In 1810, Troughton's "History of Liverpool" appeared. The "Stranger in Liverpool," so often reprinted, appeared first in 1807.

From 1811 to 1820 the number of books again increases, embracing almost every form of literature, from a folio Family Bible in 1812, to the Squib Book of 1820. There are various theological works. Methodism is attacked in 1813; Quakerism in 1815; there are notes on the Millennium in 1820. The title of Dr. Carson's book, on the "Causes of "the Motion of the Blood," has a somewhat sinister sound in connection with 1815. A "Liverpool Magazine" was pub-

lished in 1816, I think only three numbers. In 1817, Mr. Gregson's important work on the Fragments of our Local Antiquities first appeared. The Royal Institution was opened by Roscoe in the same year, after a fortnight's postponement in consequence of the Princess Charlotte's death; Roscoe's discourse on the occasion being published in a thin 4to. The Narrative, by Dr. Renwick, of the Case of Miss M'Avoy, who was said to distinguish colours by the touch after the loss of her sight, was also published in this year, and called forth a paper war of pamphlets. A new catalogue of the Athenæum Library was published in 1820; two works also by Dr. Raffles; his Lectures on Practical Religion, and his Continental Tour in 1819 and 1820.

Here I lose the help of Mr. Palmer's Catalogue. I have more than a hundred entries between 1821 and 1830. Among them are Mr. Swale's Geometrical Amusements, in 1821, and his Liverpool Apollonius, in 1823-24. Our local mathematicians have not always followed Mr. Swale's footsteps, or done as much credit to the town. A few years ago we had the rotundity of the earth disproved by some one who began by mistaking the relation between an arc and a tangent. A still more singular instance of wasted ingenuity occurred in 1822, when Bartholomew Prescot published the first volume of his attack on the Newtonian System. The second volume was published in the following year, and the two together, with the preliminary address to Sir Humphrey Davy, and the Review of the Reviewers, contain more than six hundred large octavo pages, displaying considerable knowledge and extensive reading, full of mathematical calculations and illustrated with many capital diagrams. He proves to his own satisfaction that the Earth is the centre of the universe; that the diameter of the Sun is about 200 miles, and his distance about 24,000; that the planet Jupiter might be rolled through the Straits of

Dover, and the planet Mercury down the Mersey. His knowledge is, at the same time, so imperfect, that he is able to offer as conclusive argument, the strange assertion that the Moon could not remain in the orbit commonly assigned to her, because the power of the Earth's attraction upon her, on Newton's hypothesis, is less than that of the Sun. Prescot's delusion was of the theological type. He had made up his mind that the Newtonian System and the Mosaic System were at variance, and that the latter must be the true one. He wrote with energy and was a man much respected by his friends; of considerable attainments, and, in some directions, of great ability. His book is one of the curiosities of our local literature. Works of this kind have a peculiar and certainly a melancholy interest. They remind us how easily a man may, in fact, become insane in his relation to any given subject when, from any cause, whether ignorance, vanity, natural defect or wilful blindness, he comes to doubt everything rather than himself.

A volume of Lectures by Dr. Raffles was published in 1822. In 1823, a catalogue of the Medical Library, Shaw's Brow, about 1,000 works. In 1824, the History of the County, by Baines and Parson, with folio maps, and a second edition of Gregson's History, with additions. In 1825, the History of Liverpool, by Smithers. This period was rich in the fruits of local research. In 1826, a volume of Poems by Mrs. Lawrence; a second edition appearing in 1829; Poems, also, by Mr. Higgin in 1828; the Winter's Wreath, an annual, published from 1828 to 1832, contains poetical contributions by Hemans, Howitt, Roscoe, Tartt, Hartley Coleridge, Bowring, &c. Among them are the "Nautilus," by Hartley Coleridge, and the "Song of Night," the "Exile's Dirge," and the "Prayer at Sea after Victory," by Mrs. Hemans. Two volumes on Systematic Morality, by W. Jevons, appeared in 1827, and a work on the Changes in the Bed of

the Mersey, by Mr. Thomas Jevons, in 1828. Dr. Thom's "Three Questions" was published in the same year, and the splendid folio work on Monandrian Plants, by Roscoe.

The memorable year 1830, in which the Liverpool and Manchester Railway was opened, is marked in my catalogue by the publication of Mr. Henry Booth's Account of the Railway and History of the Parliamentary Proceedings connected with it. The book is not dated, rather strangely. It contains engravings of the Locomotives "Rocket" and "Novelty." In the same year a work on Locomotive and Fixed Engines, by Robert Stephenson and J. Locke, appeared.

In the next decade, from 1831 to 1840, my catalogue contains again more than a hundred entries. The "Coffee "Guide," by Syers, dedicated to the Temperance Society, in 1832, reminds us of the beginning of the Temperance Agitation. The society must have been about a year old. Those who are fond of good coffee might find it worth their while to look at this little book. It is in the Liverpool Library. We have in the same year a Memoir of the Rev. John Hincks, published, with selected sermons, by the Rev. John H. Thom. In 1835, Mr. Raincock's Sexagesimal Logarithms, lithographed by himself; intended to facilitate nautical calculations, by making the base 60 instead of 10. An interesting book on the Symbolism of the Cross, by John Holland, was published this year, under the title of "Cruciana." There are some good illustrations. Other works by Dr. Thom follow in 1836-38. In the latter year a new Catalogue of the Medical Library, increased to near 2,000 works, appeared. In 1839, the well known discussion between thirteen clergymen of the Church of England, and three Unitarian ministers, was published in two very bulky volumes. A curious and handsome volume of Poems and Translations, by Mr. John Taylor, with Solar and Siderial Tables, calcu-

lated for the beginning of the Christian era, appeared. A work also by Mr. Brooke, author of the "History of Liverpool between 1775 and 1800"; on the Office of a Notary in England. In 1840, another curiosity of literature; a Chinese Novel, called the Lasting Resentment of Miss Keaou Lwang Wang, translated by Mr. Robert Thom, brother of Dr. David Thom, printed at Canton, and afterwards published in London and Liverpool, in thin 4to. The interest of the book and of the notes appended is very considerable. The affectation of the love-making is exceedingly droll. I cannot say that the story sets the morals of the Celestial Empire in an advantageous light, and when Miss Wang dies at last by her own hand, and her lover by the bamboos of justice, one is inclined to feel that though one was faithful and the other false, they have both got pretty nearly what they deserve.

The works from 1841 to 1850 include Herdman's Liverpool, and some other valuable publications, but on the whole, they are less interesting than those already noticed. Perhaps, we may expect this to be the case henceforth, for the facility with which books written at a distance can be published in London, is now so great that most authors avail themselves of that advantage.

My purpose in making this running commentary on the catalogue itself has not been, as you will have perceived, to criticise the books in detail or to estimate their collective value, but only to suggest something of their general character, and the sort of interest which such a list possesses. I have, of course, mentioned only a very small portion of the whole number. Some well known works and names which it would have been agreeable to see in the list have been excluded by the plan I found it desirable to adopt. Mr. Brooke's History and Mr. Baines's, for example, are dated after 1850. So are Dr. Thom's "Churches and Chapels," Mr. Rockliff's "Friarte," and others. On the other hand, Dr. Hume's work

on Learned Societies, Dr. M'Neile on the "Church and the Churches," Mr. Philip's Life of Whitefield, all but one of Mr. Martineau's works, and all but one, also, of Mr. J. H. Thom's, have been published in London.

I hope the Society will think with me, that the literary history of our district is in itself worth studying, and that it is desirable to gather even such fragments as I have laid before you, as materials for the furtherance of that object. Whether commerce and the soul can meet without hostility; whether in this district of docks, mines and cotton mills the inner life of Englishmen is higher or lower than the average, are questions of much practical importance, and the more ample the basis of recorded facts in relation to them, the more truthful will the answers be.

# A CHRONOLOGICAL CATALOGUE
OF
# BOOKS PUBLISHED IN LIVERPOOL,
UP TO A.D. 1850.

By Albert J. Mott.

This Catalogue includes Books only (not Pamphlets) published before 1851, and having the name of a Liverpool Publisher or Printer on the Title-page. It must not be accepted as exhaustive even within these limits. Many books, especially among those published both in London and Liverpool, have doubtless escaped notice. Pamphlets have been excluded, but as a Pamphlet cannot be rigidly defined, some apparent exceptions may be found. As the Books are not collected in any Library, the Liverpool printer's or publisher's name is usually given, to assist in finding the work. To save space, a few works of which the separate issues have been numerous, are mentioned only under the date of their first appearance, with details of subsequent editions annexed. A list of these is given at the end of the Catalogue.

"Pr." means Printer; "Pub." Publisher. The letter "L" indicates that the Book is in the Liverpool Library; "F." that it is in the Free Public Library; "P." that it is mentioned in Palmer's MS. Catalogue.

Books not otherwise described are 8vo. or under.

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| Date and Title. | Author. |
|---|---|
| **1712.** | |
| 1. Hymns Sacred to the Lord's-Table, Collected and Methodiz'd. By Charles Owen—ὑμνήσαντες—They—sung a Hymn, Mat. xxvi. 30. Speaking among your selves in Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, Ephes. v. 19. Loverpoole: Printed by S. Terry, for Daniel Birchall, and Sold by Nat. Cliff and D. Jackson, at the Bible and Three Crowns in Cheapside, and E. Mathews, at the Bible in Pater-Noster-Row, London. MDCCXII. ... ... | Charles Owen. |
| (The above is the full Title-page of the first book known to have been printed in Liverpool. No earlier Liverpool publication is known at the British Museum, or to the many collectors of our local literature who have assisted the author of this Catalogue. The printer, however, S Terry, Dale Street, was also the printer of the "Leverpoole Courant," the first Liverpool newspaper, also in 1712. He possessed Greek type, and advertised another publication, and it is probable therefore that earlier works issued from his press, some of | |

Date and Title. Author.

which may still be in existence. Charles Owen was a Presbyterian minister at Warrington, the author of a work on Serpents, pub. in London, 1742. A copy of his Hymn Book, possibly unique, is in the possession of John Robson, Esq., M.D., Warrington. A volume of Poems by Mary Molineux, of Liverpool, a Quakeress, was pub. in London, in 1702, and went through many editions; one of these is believed to have been printed in Liverpool, but the date is not known.)

1 vol. sm. 8vo. To the Reader (dated Warrington May 1, 1712), three leaves not paged. Hymns, &c., pp. 1—76.

2. A projected work on Arithmetic, by John Jackson, advertised in the "Leverpoole Courant." See Brooke's History, p. 92.)

1727.

3. The Liverpool Magazine. (Entered, with this date attached, on fly leaf of Palmer's MS. Catalogue. Mr. Palmer saw the work mentioned in a Bookseller's Catalogue, pub. 1788.)

1736.

4. Memoirs of the House of Stanley ... ... ... ... John Seacome.

4to. A. Sadler, Liverpool. (Believed to be the date of the first edition.) See 1741 and 1801.

1738.

5. A Description of the Sea-coast of England and Wales, from Black Comb, in Cumberland, to the Point of Linus, in Anglesea, according to an actual survey thereof made in the years 1736 and 1737... Samuel Fearon and John Eyes.

1 vol. folio. The charts originally engraved by Emanuel Bowen; altered for the second edition, in 1755, by Jeremiah Evans, Liverpool; a third edition of the charts, revised, in 1767. The work pub. first by subscription. Pr. Adam Sadler. The first folio known to have been published in Liverpool. A copy is in the possession of Joseph Boult, Esq., Liverpool.

1741.

6. Memoirs of the House of Stanley, with a description of the Isle of Man, &c. ... ... ... ... ... John Seacome.

1 vol. Pr. A. Sadler. This is probably the second edition. (See 1736.)

Date and Title. Author.

1748.

7. A Dissertation on the Hebrew Vowel Points, shewing that they are an original and essential part of the Language ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... Peter Whitfield.
1 vol. 4to. "Liverpoole: pr. by and for the Author." 288 pp. (Ascribed to George Whitfield in Palmer's Catalogue.) P.

1749.

8. An Essay upon the Supremacy and Infallibility pretended to by the Church of Rome. By way of Letter to a Gentleman of the Romish Communion, occasioned by an accidental conference at H—y—ll, in W——s... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... Peter Whitfield.
1 vol. 4to. "Liverpoole: pr. by and for the Author." 200 pp.

1753.

9. Scripture Authority not beholden to Human Antiquity.
1 vol. Pr. E. Owen, Moore Street.

10. The Mistake Rectified, or Remarks upon "Scripture Authority," &c.
1 vol. Pr. John Sadler, Harrington Street.

11. The Rectifier Revised, or Remarks on "The Mistake Rectified."
1 vol. Pr. E. Owen.

1754.

12. Faith of God's Elect; or, the Life of Jesus Manifest in his Saints ... ... ... ... ... ... ... John Johnson.
1 vol. Pr. E. Owen. Price 2s. P. F.

13. A Christian Directory, Guiding Men to their Eternal Salvation ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... Robert Parsons, (Father Parsons, or Persons, the Jesuit.)
1 vol. Sadler, Harrington Street. (First pub. in 1583 as "Of Resolution.") P.

14. The Muses' Delight; an accurate Collection of English and Italian Songs, &c. ... ... ... ... Edited by John Sadler.
1 vol. Sadler, Harrington Street. (Words and Music, and Instructions.) F. (See 1756.)

15. The Poll for the Election of M.P.'s for the Borough and Corporation of Liverpool.

1755.

16. A Description of the Sea-coast, &c. ... ... ... Fearon & Eyes.
2nd edition. (See 1738.)

Date and Title. Author.

17. The Following of Christ ... ... ... ... ... ... Thos. à Kempis.
1 vol. Pr. J. Sadler.

18. Entertainments for Lent ... ... ... ... ... ... R. F. N. Cousin.
Pr. J. Sadler.

19. Instructions and Devotions for Hearing Mass.
1 vol. Pr. J. Sadler, Harrington Street.

20. Life of St. Mary of Egypt.
1 vol. Pr. J. Sadler.

1756.

21. A Reply to Mr. Abraham Bourn's Free and Candid Considerations, showing the Impropriety and Incompetency of that work ... ... ... ... ... Peter Whitfield.
(Mr. Bourn had attacked Whitfield's "Preface." See 1757.)
1 vol. (74 pp.) Liverpool: Pr. R. Williamson, (2nd edition, 1757.)

22. Apollo's Cabinet; or, the Muse's Delight, an accurate Collection of English and Italian Songs, &c.
(This edition is part of the impression of 1754, divided into two vols., with new title-pages and index, and two leaves pasted together at the end to hide the old index. Several leaves are also added at the end of each volume, causing a curious confusion in the paging of the work.) Above 200 songs with music, and 426 without.
2 vols. Sadler, Harrington Street.

23. The Liverpool Memorandum Book for the year 1756, containing Lists of all Ships, Masters, and Owners, Names and what trade employed in, Lists of Magistrates, Carriers, Streets, Churches, and a Description of Liverpool with regard to its Situation, Trade, &c.
1 vol. Pr. Robert Williamson, near the Exchange.

1757.

24. The Christianity of the New Testament; or, a Scholastic Defence of the Scripture Doctrines of Redemption, Propitiation, &c., with a Preface, in vindication of the Author's conformity to the Established Church ... .. ... ... ... ... ... Peter Whitfield.
1 vol. The Preface (40 pp.) is in the British Museum, and was issued separately before the work.

25. A Reply to Mr. Abraham Bourn ... ... ... ... Peter Whitfield.
2nd edition. (See 1756.)

Date and Title. Author.

26. Apollo's Cabinet; or, the Ladies' Delight
2 vols. Sadler. Songs, with Music. 218 pp. (Probably a re-issue of the work of 1754.)

27. Translation of the Charter of Liverpool, with Notes by Philodemus (Joseph Clegg)
1 vol. 4to., pp. 46. (Reprinted with additional Charters, 8vo., 1783.)

1758.

28. The Love of God. Sermon on the death of Samuel Hunter, Jun., Mariner ... ... ... ... ... ... John Johnson.
1 vol. Pr. E. Owen. 67 pp. Price 6d.

29. A Mathematical Question, propounded by the Vicegerent of the World; answered by the King of Glory John Johnson
1 vol. Advertised at the end of the above. Price 1s.
(Published first in London, 1755.)

30. Liverpool Library Catalogue (the first). The Library containing about 450 vols.

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| Subsequent Catalogues :— | 1792, Pr. Nevett & Son |
| 1760, Pr. John Sadler (under 1000 vols.) | 1801, Pr. McCreery |
| | 1814, Pr. J. Smith |
| 1770, Pr. W. Nevett & Co. | 1830, Pr. D. Marples |
| 1773, Pr. W. Nevett | 1850, Pr. T. Brakell (36,761 vols.) |
| 1781, Pr. Geo. Woods | |

(And frequent Supplements between the issues of the full Catalogue.)

1761.

31. Principles and Duties of Christianity, for the use of the Diocese of Man, with short and plain directions and prayers. In English and Manks ... ... ... Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man.
1 vol. Pr. John Sadler, Harrington Street. (A reprint of the first work published in the Manks language. First pub. in London in 1707.)

32. An entire and impartial Collection of all the Papers, &c., pub. on both sides, concerning the late election in Liverpool, for Members to serve in Parliament. (A list of the Poll, and also of the Boro' Members since 1660, added.)
1 vol. Pub. May 12, 1761, by John Sibbald, Castle St. L.

33. A genuine Collection of all the Papers, Addresses, Songs, Epigrams and Acrosticks printed by all parties during the late contest for representatives, &c.
1 vol. Pr. R. Williamson.

Date and Title. Author.

1763.

34. Form of Prayer, and a new Collection of Psalms, for the use of a Congregation of Protestant Dissenters in Liverpool. (The Octagon Chapel, afterwards St. Catherine's Church.)
1 vol. Pr. for the Society. Sold by Sibbald, Liverpool (and in London). L. P.

1764.

35. An Appeal to Roman Catholics and to Protestants. J. Holland.
1 vol.

1765.

36. English Grammar for the Latin Tongue
1 vol. Pr. J. Sadler, for S. Robinson, in Tithebarn St. P.

1766.

37. Gore's Directory (the first)
1 vol. Pub. J. Gore. Subsequent issues as under, up to 1850:—

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|---|---|
| 1769, J. Gore, Pr. W. Nevett & Co. | 1818, J. Gore |
| 1773, | 1821, Do. |
| 1774, J. Gore | 1823, Do. |
| 1777, Do. | 1825, J. Gore & Son |
| 1781, Do. | 1827, Do. |
| 1789, | 1829, Do. |
| 1790, J. Gore | 1832, Do. |
| 1796, Do. | 1834, J. & J. Mawdsley |
| 1800, Do. | 1835, Do. |
| 1803, J. Gore & Son | 1837, Do. |
| 1805, J. Gore | 1839, Do. |
| 1807, Do. | 1841, J. Mawdsley |
| 1810, Do. | 1843, Do. |
| 1811, Do. | 1845, Do. |
| 1813, Do. (re-issue, 1814.) | 1847, Do. |
| 1816, Do. | 1849, Do. |

1769.

38. Voyages and Adventures ... ... ... ... ... ... Capt. William Dampier.
3 vols. Pr. W. Nevett & Co.

1773.

39. Liverpool Spa Water ... ... ... ... ... ... Dr. Houlston.
1 vol. Pr. A. Williamson. L. P.

1777.

40. Dialogues on Friendship and Society ... ... ... Mrs. S. Dobson.
1 vol. L. P.

Date and Title. Author.

41. Horace. Odes. Poetical Translation ... ... ... W. Green, M.D.
1 vol. No printer's name. P.

42. A Treatise on Practical Seamanship, &c. ... ... W. Hutchinson, Mariner, and Dock Master at Liverpool.
1 vol. 4to. Pr. Cowburne. Illustrated by Billinge. 1st Edition. In British Museum and Chetham Library. Enlarged Edition, 1791, title altered. 4th Ed. 1794.)

43. Mount Pleasant. Poem ... ... ... ... ... ... W. Roscoe.
1 vol. 4to. Pr. at Warrington. Pub. in Liverpool and London. L. P. (See 1798.)

1780.

44. The Death of Abel
1 vol. Pr. Charles Wosencroft.

1782.

45. The Christian's Complete Family Bible, (Wood's Family Bible)
1 vol. fol. Plates. Pr. Geo. Woods.

46. The Pilgrim's Progress
Pr. Chas. Wosencroft.

1783.

47. Charters of Liverpool
(See 1757.)

48. Roman Catholic Congregation in Liverpool, Rise of Differences in
1 vol. No printer's name. MDLXXXIII, date on title page. L. P.

1784.

49. A circumstantial Journal of the long and tedious Blockade and Siege of Gibralter ... ... ... ... S. Ancell, 58th Reg.
1 vol. Plates. Pr. J. Schofield. (2nd Ed. 1785.)

50. Medical Survey of Liverpool ... ... ... ... ... W. Moss, Surgeon.
1 vol. Pr. H. Hodgson. L. P.

51. Liverpool Poll Book. F.

1785.

52. Journal of the Siege of Gibralter ... ... ... ... S. Ancell.
2nd Edition. (See 1784.) L.

1787.

53. Liverpool Directory ... ... ... ... ... ... ... Wm. Bailey.

54. African Slave Trade, original view of. P. ... ... W. Roscoe.

55. An Appendix to the Psalms used at Key Street and Benn's Garden Chapels
Pr. J. Gore.

| Date and Title. | Author. |
|---|---|
| 1788. | |
| 56. The New Expositor ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... Pr. S. Crane and H. Hodgson. | James Ashton & John Clegg. |
| 57. Colonel Jack; or, Life of a celebrated Thief. P. | Defoe. |
| 58. Scriptural Researches on the Licitness of the Slave Trade ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1 vol. Pr. H. Hodgson. (Ascribed to Roscoe in Palmer's List.) Roscoe answered it in a pamphlet. L. F. | Rev. Raymond Harris. |
| 59. The New Testament of Jesus Christ, with Arguments of Books and Chapters, Annotations, &c. (Rheims text.) 1 vol. folio. 6th Ed. (2nd folio Ed.) Pub. R. Ferguson, Dale Street. | |
| 60. Wrongs of Almoona; or, the African's Revenge. Poem. 1 vol. Pr. Hodgson, Pool Lane. (Roscoe's "Wrongs of Africa" was published in London in 1787-8. This is another work.) P. | |
| 1789. | |
| 61. A Descriptive Poem on the Town and Trade of Liverpool ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... Pr. H. Hodgson. | John Walker, Shoemaker. |
| 1790. | |
| 62. Poems ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 2 vols. Pr. H. Hodgson and W. Nevett & Son. | Peter Newby. |
| 63. Sermons ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 2 vols. Printed at Smith's Navigation Shop. L. P. | Henry Wolstenholme, M.A., Rector of Liverpool. |
| 64. The New Liverpool Songster Uncertain date. P. | |
| 65. The Poll for the Election of Members of Parliament for the Boro: of Liverpool, 1790, with the Addresses, Squibs, &c. 1 vol. Pr. T. Johnson, Castle Street. L. | |
| 1791. | |
| 66. Naval Architecture and Practical Seamanship, Treatise on ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1 vol. 4to. Pr. T. Billinge. See 1777. L. P. | W. Hutchinson. |
| 67. On Government, addressed to the Public ... ... pp. 257. Pr. T. Johnson. | Thos. Wycliffe. |
| 68. Poesie del magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici. Edited by Roscoe. 1 vol. These poems were among the materials sent to | |

Date and Title. Author.

Roscoe from Italy, for the Life of Lorenzo. A small edition of only twelve copies was printed. One of them is in the Grenville Library. (A Liverpool reprint in 1795 seems to have been issued.)

1792.

69. **Views of the Lakes, with Descriptions** ... ... ... P. Holland.
1 vol. 4to. 21 plates, engraved by Rosenberg. P.

70. **Consolidated Duties, Bounties, and Drawbacks of Customs and Excise, on Imports and Exports, and Liverpool Town Duties**
Compiled by Lowndes and Newton. Pr. M'Creery. P. F.

71. **The Excursion of Osman, a Political Romance**
Pr. T. Schofield.

1793.

72. **Miscellanies in Prose and Verse** ... ... ... ... Charles Graham, Writing Master.
1 vol. Pr. T. Schofield. P.

73. **Letters on the Slave Trade.** L. P.... ... ... ... H. Wilckens.

1794.

74. **Naval Architecture, Treatise on** ... ... ... ... W. Hutchinson.
1 vol. 4to. 4th Edition enlarged. See 1777. L. P.

1795.

75. **Life of Lorenzo de' Medici** ... ... ... ... ... W. Roscoe.
2 vols. 4to. Pr. M'Creery. L. P.

76. **History of Ancient and Present State of Liverpool** Wallace.
1 vol. Pub. anon. No Date. 1795 supposed, see p. 239. Pr. M'Creery. A Duplicate of this edition printed same date by R. Phillips, 301 pp. (2nd Edition, 1797, pr. Crane & Jones.)

77. **Poesie del L. de' Medici.** P.
1 vol. 12mo. Pr. M'Creery. See 1791.

1796.

78. **Elements of Geography** ... ... ... ... ... ... J. Clegg.
1 vol. 4to. Pr. M'Creery. (With Maps.) L. P.

79. **Rembrandt and His Scholars; Descriptive Catalogue of their Works** ... ... ... ... ... ... D. Daulby.
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. 13 Heads of Subjects. Preface written by Roscoe. 50 copies on 4to. paper. Portrait. (Both Watt & Smithers describe this work incorrectly as "4to. 1756." But see Life of Roscoe, 1. 227; and Lowndes.) L. P.

Date and Title. Author.

80. English Grammar ... ... ... ... ... ... ... J. Knowles.
1 vol. 4th Ed. Pr. M'Creery. Date of 1st Edit.? L. P.

81. Campaign in Flanders, 1794 and 1795 ... ... ... West.
1 vol. Pub. anon. Pr. Merritt and Wright. L. P.

82. Liverpool Corporation Trials, in 1791, 1792 & 1793
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. L. P. F.

83. Liverpool Poll Book, with Addresses, &c. F.
Pr. H. Hodgson.

84. Proceedings in an Action at Law, brought by the Mayor, Bailiffs and Burgesses of the Boro' of L'pool for the Recovery of a Penalty under a By-Law
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery.

1797.

85. Medical Reports on Water as a Remedy in Fever, &c. J. Currie, M.D.
1 vol. (2nd Edition, 1798. 3rd Edition, 2 vols., the 2nd vol. being additional matter, 1804; also later Editions.) Pr. M'Creery.

86. Lectures on Chemistry ... ... ... ... ... ... T. Garnett, M.D.
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. L.

87. Liverpool Guide ... ... ... ... ... ... ... W. Moss.
1 vol. Pr. T. Swarbreck. (2nd Edition enlarged, same date. 3rd Edition enlarged, 1799, Pr. M'Creery. 4th Edition, 1801, Pub. W. Jones. New Edition, 1808.)

88. English Lyrics ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... Wm. Smyth.
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. (2nd Ed., 1798. 2nd Part, 1805.) L. P.

89. History of Ancient and Present State of Liverpool Wallace.
2nd Edition. See 1795.

90. A Selection of Psalms ... ... ... ... ... ... W. Wise, M.A.
Pr. Robinson and Lang.

91. Life of Bianca Capello, Wife of Francesco de' Medici
Translated by C. Ludger from the German of Siebenkees.
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. L. P.

1798.

92. Call to the Unconverted ... ... ... ... ... ... Baxter.
Pr. Forshaw, Edmund Street. P.

93. Saints' Everlasting Rest ... ... ... ... ... ... Baxter.
Pr. Forshaw, Edmund Street. P.

94. Medical Reports, &c. ... ... ... ... ... ... J. Currie, M.D.
2nd Edition. See 1797. P.

95. Poems ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... Eliza Daye.
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. P. F.

Date and Title. Author.

96. The Student, Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4 ... ... ... ... W. Hilton, "Teacher of the Mathematics."
2 vols. No. 2 is dated Nov. 1, 1798. The rest have no date. L. P.

97. Mount Pleasant. Poem ... ... ... ... ... ... W. Roscoe.
2nd Edition? See 1777.

98. English Lyrics ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... Wm. Smyth.
2nd Edition. See 1797. P.

99. The Nurse. Poem ... .. ... ... ... ... ... Luigi Tansillo.
Translated by Roscoe. 1 vol. 4to. Pr. M'Creery. (Other Editions in 1800 and 1804.) L.

100. Catalogue of the Minerva Circulating Library
1 vol. Pr. T. Troughton.

1799.

101. Three Essays on Grace, Faith, and Experience ... E. Ecking.
Pr. W. Jones, Castle Street. P.

102. Liverpool Guide ... ... ... ... ... ... ... W. Moss.
Directions for Sea Bathing added in this edition. 3rd Edition. See 1797. P.

103. The Liverpool Songster
1 vol. Pr. Hodgson, about 190 pp.

104. Occasional Hymns
Pr. W. Harding.

105. Sermons or Homilies ordered to be used in Churches by Queen Elizabeth, of Famous Memory
4to. Pr. H. Forshaw. P.

1800.

106. Burns, Works of, with Account of his Writings and Life ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... J. Currie, M.D.
4 vols. Pr. M'Creery. (Often reprinted.) P. F.

107. Euphonia. 62 Psalm and Hymn Tunes, composed for All Saints' Church, Liverpool ... ... W. Dixon.
Pr. Forshaw.

108. A New System of Short-hand ... ... ... ... Sam. Richardson.
Pr. M'Creery.

109. The Nurse. Poem ... ... ... ... ... ... ... Luigi Tansillo.
Translated by Roscoe. 1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. 2 copies on vellum; one in the Athenæum Library, the other in the possession of Joseph Mayer, Esq. See 1798. P.

110. The Nurse. Poem ... ... ... ... ... ... ... Luigi Tansillo.
Translated by Roscoe. 1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. 2nd (small) Edition. (3rd Edition, 1804.) P.

Date and Title. Author.

111. Family Instructor. 5 Parts
Pr. Forshaw, Edmund Street. P.

112. The Moralist: a Collection of Maxims, &c.
Pr. M'Creery. (1799 in Palmer.)

1801.

113. An Abridgement of a Selection of Psalms & Hymns Rev. T. Jones.
1 vol. Pr. Coddington & Co.

114. Liverpool Guide ... ... ... ... ... ... ... W. Moss.
1 vol. See 1797. P.

115. History of the House of Stanley, with History of the Isle of Man, and Travels of Sir W. Stanley
1 vol. Pr. Nuttall. See 1736.

116. New Theological Repository, consisting of Original Essays upon the Evidences, Excellency, and Doctrines of Christianity, &c.
1801 to 1808.

1802.

117. Essays on Commercial Laws, Action of Money, Insurance, &c. ... ... ... ... ... ... ... W. D. Evans.
1 vol. Pr. Merritt & Wright. No date. Palmer says 1787.
But see Gore's Advertiser, 18th Feb., 1802. L. P. F.

118. Address to the Proprietors of the Botanic Gardens W. Roscoe.
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. L. P. F.

119. Life of Poggio Bracciolini ... ... ... ... ... Dr. Shepherd.
1 vol. 4to. Pr. M'Creery. (2nd Ed. 1837.) L. P. F.

120. Elementa Grammaticæ Ciceroniana; or, an Introduction to Latin Grammar ... ... ... ... ... Rev. Calvin Winstanley.
Pub. W. Jones. P.

121. Athenæum Library Catalogue
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. L. P.

122. Baxter's Christian Directory, or Sure Guide to Present and Eternal Happiness
Abridged by Adam Clarke. 2 vols. Pr. Nuttall. P.

123. Fleury's Ancient Israelites
Translated by Adam Clarke. 1 vol. Pr. Nuttall. P. F.

124. Solomon Gessner's Works
Translated by a Lady. 3 vols. Pr. M'Creery. Many illustrations, by Stothard. L. P.

125. Liverpool Poll Book, with Addresses, &c.
Pr. Ferguson, Mackey & Co. F.

Date and Title. Author.

126. Memoirs of the Year 2,500. ("L'an 2440," in the original.)
Translated. New Edition, with account of the author, Mercier, who wrote the original in exile, in Switzerland. (1st Edition, translated by Dr. Hooper, pub. 1772, in London.) Pr. W. Jones. L. P.

127. A Selection of Monstrous Droll Songs, with Toasts and Sentiments, for 1802; and the most fashionable Country Dances and Hornpipes
1 vol. Pr. Schofield. P.

1803

128. Thoughts on Religion ... ... ... ... ... ... W. Beveridge, D.D.
1 vol. Pr. Forshaw.

129. Guide to the French Language ... ... ... ... J.J. Le Brethon.
1 vol. Pr. J. Lang. 3rd. Ed., 1822. P. F.

130. A General View of the Decisions of Lord Mansfield in Civil Causes ... ... ... ... ... ... W.D.Evans,Esq.
2 vols. 4to. Pr. Merritt and Wright. L.

131. Tables of Interest, at 5 per cent. ... ... ... ... Joseph King.
3rd Edition. Pr. J. Lang.

132. The Duties, Drawbacks and Bounties of Customs and Excise, &c. ... ... ... ... ... ... ... T. Lowndes.
1 vol. Pr. J. Lang.

133. The Press. Poem. (Part 1.) Illustrated ... ... M'Creery.
1 vol. 4to. Pr. M'Creery. (Part 2 published in 1827, in London.) L. F. P.

134. Practice of Piety.
1 vol. Pr. Forshaw.

1804.

135. On Respiration ... ... ... ... ... ... ... John Bostock, M.D.
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. L. P.

136. Bibliographical Dictionary. Account of Curious Books in Oriental, Greek, and Latin Languages. (1802 to 1804)... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... Dr. A. Clarke.
6 vols. P. (The last 3 vols. pub. at Manchester.)

137. Medical Reports, &c. ... ... ... ... ... ... J. Currie, M D.
2 vols. 3rd Edition. See 1797. L. P.

138. Memoirs of William Henry West Betty, the Young Roscius ... ... ... ... ... ... ... J. Merritt
1 vol. 1st Ed. Pr. J. Wright. F. 2nd Ed., ditto. L P.

Date and Title. Author.

139. Directions, Prudential and Moral... ... ... ... S. H. Read.
1 vol. Pr. J. Lang.

140. The Nurse. Poem ... ... ... ... ... ... ... L. Tansillo.
Translated by W. Roscoe. 1 vol. 3rd Ed. See 1798. P.F.

141. Sermons ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... G. Vanbrugh.
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. L. P.

142. Letters on the Salt Trade. (1798 to 1804) L. P. Wilckens.

143. Copies of Acts of Parliament relating to the Docks, &c., of Liverpool
1 vol. Pr. W. Jones.

144. The Monitor; or, a Collection of Precepts, &c.
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery.

145. Trial of William Sparling, Esq., for the Murder of Edward Grayson
1 vol. Pr. W. Jones.

1805.

146. Innkeeper's and Butler's Guide ... ... ... ... J. Davies.
Pr. Nuttall. P.

147. Pious Meditations ... ... ... ... ... ... ... Rev. W. Kirkpatrick.
1 vol. Pr. W. Jones. L. P.

148. The Natural Son: a Tragedy ... ... ... ... James Mason.
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery.

149. Travels in Trinidad ... ... ... ... ... ... P. F. M'Callum.
1 vol. Pr. W. Jones. With Map. L. P.

150. Ossian. Lesser Poems. With Notes ... ... ... A. M'Donald.
1 vol. Pr. M'Creery. L. F. P.

151. Leo the Tenth ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... W. Roscoe.
4 vols. 4to. Pr. M'Creery. 6 copies printed on French paper, one of them in the Athenæum Library; printed also on large paper. (2nd Edit., 1806.) L. P.

152. English Lyrics. 2nd Part ... ... ... ... ... W. Smyth.
See 1797. P.

153. The Trident of Albion, with an Oration, &c. ... John Thelwall.
1 vol. Pr. G. F. Harris. L.

154. Barclay's Dictionary, Complete and Universal
4to. P. (See 1816.)

155. Catholic Emancipation: an accurate Report of the Speeches in Parliament
Pr. W. Jones.

Date and Title. Author.

156. The Picture of Liverpool, or Stranger's Guide
1 vol. Pub. W. Jones and C. Woodward. (New Edit. enlarged, 1808.)

157. Twelve Letters, by Detector
Pr. W. Jones.

1806.

158. Memoirs of Mammoth and other Bones (found in America.) F.... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... Th. Ashe, Esq.

159. The Speaker ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...W. Enfield, L.L.D.
Pr. T. Milner.

160. Leo the Tenth... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... Wm. Roscoe.
4 vols. 4to. 2nd Edition. M'Creery. See 1805. P.

161. Reconciler; or, Sketch of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of Christ ... ... ... ... Thomas Taylor.
Pr. Nuttall. P.

162. Collection of Psalms
1 vol. Pub. Gore. Date? F.

163. Liverpool Dramatic Censor; or, Theatrical Recorder. Vol. 1 (all that appeared)
Edited by Troughton?

164. Liverpool Poll Book, with Addresses, &c.
2 vols. Two books, by the opposite parties. F.

165. Memoirs of Lord Nelson and Sydney Smith
Pr. Goodchild and Plant. P.

166. The Self-Instructor; or, Young Man's best Companion, &c.
Pr. J. Nuttall.

1807.

167. Reform of Pharmaceutical Nomenclature ... ... J. Bostock, M.D.
Pr. G. F. Harris. L. P.

168. Original Poems ... ... ... ... ... ... ... Sarah Medley.
1 vol. Pr. James Smith.

169. Collection of Addresses, Songs, Squibs, &c.

170. Poggii Dialogus, an Seni sit Uxor ducenda, circa ann: 1435 conscriptus, nunc primum typis mandatus, edente Gul. Shepherd
4to.

171. Poll Book
1 vol. Pr. Gore.

172. Psalms for St. Andrew's Church.
1 vol.

Date and Title. Author.

173. Stranger in Liverpool
1 vol. Pr. Kaye.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2nd Ed., with pl., 1810. P. | | 8th Ed., 1825 | |
| 3rd „ 1812 | | 9th „ 1829. | L. |
| 4th „ 1816. P. | | 10th „ 1833 | |
| 5th „ 1818 | | 11th „ 1836 | |
| 6th „ 1820 | | 12th „ 1839 | |
| 7th „ 1823 | | | |

But some Editions have more than one date.

1808.

174. Poems. (Early Pieces) ... ... ... ... ... ... Fel. Dor. Browne (Mrs. Hemans.)
1 vol. 4to. Pr. G. F. Harris. L. P. F.

175. Angler's Manual ... ... ... ... ... ... ... S. Howitt.
1 vol. Pr. G. F. Harris. Plates. P.

176. Essay on the Life and Writings of — Booth ... Jones.
Pr. J. Smith. P.

177. The New Expositor, for the use of Schools ... Knowles?
8th Edition. Pr. W. Jones.

178. Ossian. Fingal ... ... ... ... ... ... ... A. M'Donald.
1 vol. Pr. G. F. Harris. L. P.

179. Liverpool Guide ... ... ... ... ... ... ... W. Moss.
New Edition. See 1797.

180. Blackheath. Poem ... ... ... ... ... ... Thomas Noble.

181. Odes, Sonnets, and other Poems ... ... ... ... W. M. Tartt.
1 vol. Pr. G. F. Harris. L. P.

182. Botanic Garden, Liverpool, Catalogue of Plants. P.

183. Classical Selections in Verse
Pr. James Smith.

184. The Picture of Liverpool; or, Stranger's Guide
New Edit., enlarged. Pr. Jones & Wright. See 1805.

185. Trial of C. Angus for the Murder of Margaret Burns.
1 vol. Pr. W. Jones. L. P.

1809.

186. School for Orators. Farce
1 vol. Pub. G. F. Harris. P. F.

187. A Tribute to the Memory of Mr. William Rathbone, of Liverpool
1 vol. 4to. Pr. G. F. Harris.

Date and Title. Author.

1810.

188. On the Prohibition of Distillation from Grain ... W. Dixon.
1 vol. Pr. G. F. Harris. L. P.

189. History of Liverpool ... ... ... ... ... ... T. Troughton.
1 vol. 4to. (Plan of Liverpool by the same, same year.)
Pub. W. Robinson and Howell. L. P. F.

190. Funeral Sermon on the Rev. Dr. Barnes, preached at Cross Street, Manchester ... ... ... ... ... John Yates.
1 vol., 86 pp. Pr. G. F. Harris. Contains a Biography of Dr. Barnes.

191. The Charter granted to the Burgesses of Liverpool by William III.; also the Charter of George II.; with Proceedings referring thereto
Pr. Egerton Smith and Co. F.

192. Collection of Psalms
1 vol. Pr. Gore. P.

193. Goldsmith's Animated Nature
4 vols. Pub. Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon. (1813 in Palmer's List. Possibly a re-issue.) P.

194. Prayers, Psalms, and Hymns used at the Blue Coat School
1 vol. Pr. Gore. P.

195. A Statement of the Grounds upon which the Trustees of the Liverpool Docks propose applying to Parliament next Session for authority to provide additional Dock space
With Map. Pr. G. F. Harris Brothers.

196. Trial of Lemon, Turner, and others, for Riot at the Theatre, Liverpool, in May, 1810. 1 vol. L. P.

1811.

197. Liverpool Dock Laws, Letters on. (1811-12.) R. F. Breed and another.
1 vol. P. ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ...

198. Trade in Gold Bullion ... ... ... ... ... ... J. T. Koster.
1 vol. Pr. Harris Brothers. L. P.

199. Ode on the Present State of Europe ... ... ... T. G. Lace.
1 vol. 4to. Pr. M. Galway & Co. L. P.

200. Poems ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... J. L. Lewes.
1 vol. Pr. James Smith. L. P.

201. Discourses on Evangelical Subjects ... ... ... Rich. Wright.
Pr. E. Smith & Co.

| Date and Title. | Author. |
|---|---|
| 202. Commerce: a Poem. 1 vol. P. | |
| 203. Entertaining Companion. A selection of approved Pieces in Prose and Verse. Lives of Generals, Learned and Pious Men, and Notorious Characters 800 pages. P. | |
| 204. Minutes of the Society for the Improvement of Plantership in the Island of Barbados 1 vol. Pr. Thos. Kaye. | |
| **1812.** | |
| 205. Statement of the Circumstances which led to the Prosecution, The King *v.* Blacow, for a Libel ... 1 vol. Pr. J. Smith. (2nd Edition, 1813.) | Richard Blacow. |
| 206. Four Sermons, preached in the New Church, Duke Street ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 1 vol. Pub. Galway & Ross. | Rev. R. Blacow. |
| 207. An Inquiry into the Laws of Animal Life—with a General Outline of the Organs and Functions of the Human Body ... ... ... ... ... ... 1 vol. Pr. G. F. Harris' Widow and Brothers. Many anatomical plates. L. | J. R. Park, M.B. |
| 208. Canning's Speeches at Liverpool Election (with Account of the Election, Squibs, &c.) 1 vol. Pub. Kaye. L. P. | |
| 209. Christian's complete Family Bible 1 vol. folio. Pub. Nuttall. P. | |
| 210. Liverpool and its Environs 1 vol. Maps and plates. P. | |
| 211. Nova Grammatica Ingleza e Portugueza. Selecta das melhores authores por Manoel De Freitas Brazileiro. 1 vol. Pr. G. F. Harris's Widow and Brothers. | |
| 212. The Minstrel Pr. J. Smith. P. | |
| **1813.** | |
| 213. Statement, &c. ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 2nd Edition. See 1812. | Richard Blacow. |
| 214. Life of Rev. Thomas Spencer ... ... ... ... 1 vol. Pr. G. F. Harris' Widow and Brothers. (4th Edition, 1817; new Edition, 1827.) L. P. | Thomas Raffles, (Dr. Raffles). |

Date and Title. Author.

215. Roman Catholic Tenets, as affecting the Duties of Catholic Subjects under Protestant Governments Rev. E. Slater.
1 vol. (not dated.) L. P.

216. Methodism Displayed, or Enthusiasm Detected; intended as an Antidote against and a Preservative from the Delusive Principles
Pr. Forshaw. P.

217. The Mirror, a Collection of Six Tales from the Caxton Press.
1 vol. Pr. Nuttall, Fisher & Dixon. P.

1814.

218. Catalogue of Paintings at Knowsley Hall
1 vol. Wright & Cruikshank. F.

219. Cowper, W. Life and Poems
Pr. Nuttall, Fisher & Co. P.

220. Defence of the Jewish Religion
Pr. D. Dean.

1815.

221. Bayle on Pulmonary Phthisis ... ... ... ... W. Barrow, M.D.
Translated from the French. 1 vol. Pr. G. F. Harris' Widow and Brothers. L. P.

222. Causes of the Motion of the Blood ... ... ... J. Carson, M.D.
1 vol. Pr. F. B. Wright. L. P.

223. Winter Season, with an Essay on the Good Things of this Life ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... James Fisher.
Pr. M. Galway. P.

224. Panorama of Science and Art ... ... ... ... James Smith.
2 vols. Nuttall, Fisher & Co. 49 Engravings. F.

225. Earl of Warwick, and other Poems ... ... ... Frances Watkis.
1 vol. Pr. T. Kaye. L. P.

226. Quakerism Unveiled ... ... ... ... ... ... Ephraim Wood.
Pr. H. Forshaw. P.

227. Hymns for the Use of Unitarians
Pr. F. B. Wright. P.

1816.

228. Flyfisher's Guide ... ... ... ... ... ... ... G.C. Bainbridge.
1 vol. Capital coloured Illustrations of Flies and a Fish. L P. F.

229. Mechanic, or, Compendium of Practical Inventions J. Smith.
2 vols. (In the Athenæum Catalogue.) P.

Date and Title. Author.

230. History of the Inquisition ... ... ... ... ... Rev. John Weld.
Pr. Forshaw. P.

231. History of Religious Persecutions ... ... ... F. B. Wright.
Pr. F. B. Wright. P.

232. Barclay's Dictionary, complete and universal. Revised by W. Shorton
1 vol. Pr. Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon. Illustrated. (See 1805.)

233. Catalogue of Roscoe's Library, for the Sale by Auction
1 vol. Pr. in London by M'Creery. L. F. P.

234. Catalogue of Roscoe's Prints, &c., for the Sale by Auction
1 vol. Pr. Smith & Galway. L. P.
(The copies of the Catalogues of Roscoe's Books and Prints in the Liverpool Library contain in MS. full particulars of the auction prices, very carefully recorded. Dated 1814 in Palmer's list.)

235. Catalogue of Roscoe's Drawings and Pictures, for the Sale by Auction
1 vol. Pr. G. F. Harris' Widow and Brothers.

236. The Corrector; or, Dramatic Intelligencer for the Summer season of the Theatre Royal, Liverpool
Pr. Nevetts.

237. Liverpool Magazine and General Provincial Miscellany, for 1816
1 vol. Pr. Roberts, late Johnson, Manesty Lane. L.P.F.

238. Political Essays and Miscellaneous Papers, forming the six published numbers of the Liverpool Freeman, or Weekly Magazine
Pr. F. B. Wright.

239. Poll Book
Pub. J Gore.

240. The Squib Book of the Liverpool Election
Pub. by. W. Bethell.

1817.

241. Travels in the Interior of America ... ... ... J. Bradbury.
1 vol. Pr. Smith & Galway. (2nd Edition, with Maps, 1819.) L. P.

242. History and Antiquities of Lancashire, Fragments of ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... Math. Gregson.
1 vol. folio. Pr. G. F. Harris' Widow and Brothers.
(2nd Edition, 1824, with Additions.) L. P. F.

| | Date and Title. | Author. |
|---|---|---|
| 243. | Life of Rev. Thomas Spencer ... ... ... ... 4to. 4th Edition. See 1813. P. | T. Raffles, A.M. (Dr. Raffles). |
| 244. | Narrative of the Case of Miss Margaret M'Avoy 1 vol. 4to. Miss M'Avoy was said to distinguish colours, &c., by the touch, after the loss of her sight. Many pamphlets published on the subject, in the Liverpool Library. L. P. | T. Renwick, M.D. |
| 245. | Styles of English Architecture ... ... ... ... Pr. J. J. Smith. (3rd Edition, 1825.) P. | Thos. Rickman. |
| 246. | Discourse at the Opening of the Liverpool Royal Institution, 25th November, 1817 ... ... ... 1 vol. 4to. The opening had been postponed for a fortnight, in consequence of the Princess Charlotte's death. L. P. F. | W. Roscoe. |
| 247. | The Lunarian; or, Seaman's Guide ... ... ... 1 vol. Pr. Smith & Galway. | E. Ward. |
| 248. | Sixteen Unitarian Missionary Discourses ... ... Pr. F. B. Wright. | Richard Wright. |
| 249. | View of the Principal Courts in the Isle of Man. P. | A Member of the Council. |
| 250. | A Cat may look at a King; a Chronicle of the Kings of England, by Sir Anthony Weldone | |
| 251. | History of the Inquisition. (See 1816.) ... ... | Rev. John Weld. |
| 252. | Sheriffs of Lancashire (copied from Gregson's Fragments of the History of Lancashire) 1 vol. folio. P. | |

1818.

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|---|---|---|
| 253. | Memoirs of Queen Charlotte ... ... ... ... 1 vol. Plates. P. | Craig. |
| 254. | A Spring Day ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... 5th Edition. Pr Smith & Galway. | James Fisher. |
| 255. | Memoirs of her late Royal Highness Charlotte Augusta ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... Pr. H. Fisher. | T. Green, Esq. |
| 256. | Abstract of an Act of Parliament, 19 Geo. III., c. 33, 1779, for Draining, &c., the parishes of Altcar, Sefton, Halsall and Walton; with account of the progress of the works ... ... ... ... 1 vol., with colored Map. Pr. Gore. 134 pp. | Stanistreet. |
| 257. | Canning's Speeches at Liverpool Election 1 vol. L. P. | |

Date and Title. Author.

258. Hymns for Public Worship
Pr. G. F. Harris' Widow and Brothers.

259. The Kaleidoscope. Vol. 1.
1 vol., folio. Weekly numbers. Pub. Egerton Smith & Co. (Vol. 2, 1819. New Series, 4to, 11 vols.; vol. 1, 1820. Succeeding vols. annually to 1830.) F. New series only.

260. Liverpool Poll Book.
Pr. Gore. F.

261. Selection of Psalms and Hymns for Renshaw St. Unitarian Chapel
1 vol. Pr. F. B. Wright.

262. Squib Book, Liverpool Election
Pr. W. Bethell. F.

1819.

263. Travels in the Interior of America ... ... ... J. Bradbury.
1 vol. 2nd Edition, with Maps. See 1817.

264. Physiological Fragments ... ... ... ... ... John Bywater.
Pr. Smith & Galway.

265. Proverbs of Solomon, Attempt towards an Improved Translation, with Preliminary Dissertation Rev. G. Holden.
1 vol. Pr. T. Kaye. L. P.

266. Mystery of the Abbey; or, The Widow's Fireside.
2 vols. P. ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... T. B. Johnson.

267. Construction of Wheel Carriages. P.... ... ... J. T. Koster.

268. The Wizard; or, the Fatal Banquet. A Poem ... Hy. Llewellyn.
Pr. T. Kaye.

269. Payments and Receipts in Bank of England Notes reduced to their full value in Gold. P. ... ... T. Martin.

270. ZHTHMATA ΔIANOHTIKA; or, a View of the Intellectual Powers of Man ... ... ... ... ... Thomas Martin.
1 vol. Read to the Literary and Philosophical Society on the 20th November, 1818. (2nd Edition, 1821.) L.

271. Tour on the Continent ... ... ... ... ... ... T. Raffles, A.M. (Dr. Raffles).
1 vol. 1st and 2nd Edits. (3rd Edit., 1820. New Edit., 1827. 5th Edit., 1832.)

272. The Priory of Birkenhead. Poem ... ... ... Thos. Whitby.
1 vol. Pub. Robinson & Co. L.

273. The Imperial Magazine. Vol. 1.
1 vol. (Illustrated with Portraits, &c.) Caxton Press, and London. (Vol. 2, 1820. Vol. 3, 1821, up to the July No. in Liverpool, afterwards in London only.)

| | Date and Title. | Author. |
|---|---|---|
| 274. | The Liverpool and Manchester Quarterly Magazine<br>Plates. Pr. J. Lang. | |
| 275. | Psalms & Hymns Sung at the Church for the Blind<br>1 vol. Pr. Cruikshank. P. F. | |
| | 1820. | |
| 276. | Athenæum Library Catalogue .. ... ... ... | G. Burrell. |
| | 1 vol. Pr. Harris & Co. L. P. F. (Ten copies on large paper.) | |
| 277. | Unitarianism and Trinitarianism Contrasted. Lectures delivered in the Unitarian Chapel, Renshaw Street ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | George Harris. |
| | 1 vol. Pr. Wright. L. | |
| 278. | First Lessons in Latin Reading ... ... ... | Thos. Macgowan |
| | 1 vol. Pr. J. Lang. | |
| 279. | Lectures on Practical Religion ... ... ... ... | T. Raffles, A.M. (Dr. Raffles.) |
| | 1 vol. Pub. T. Taylor. L. P. F. | |
| 280. | Tour on the Continent ... ... ... ... ... ... | T. Raffles, A.M. (Dr. Raffles.) |
| | 1 vol. 3rd Edition. Pub. T. Taylor. See 1819. L.P. | |
| 281. | Continuation of Narrative of Miss M'Avoy's Case. L. P. ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... | T. Renwick, M.D. |
| 282. | America and other Poems ... ... ... ... ... | W. M. Tartt. |
| | 1 vol. Pub. G. Cruikshank. ("America" also printed, larger paper and type, with the assumed name of "Charles Leftly the Younger" as author.) L. | |
| 283. | Vision; or, A View of Terrestrial Objects: with some Account of a Tour from Liverpool to London, and Notes on the New Age, or Millennium. P... | Ephraim Wood. |
| 284. | The Bee. Fireside Companion, and Evening Tales<br>(Issued in 24 numbers, afterwards in 1 volume. No dates; but 1820 on the Frontispiece.) 1 vol. Henry Fisher, Caxton Press. Double columns; and the columns numbered, not the pages. 1,528 columns. F. | |
| 285. | Canning's Speeches at Liverpool Election. L. P. | |
| 286. | The Imperial Magazine. Vol. 2.<br>1 vol. See 1819. | |
| 287. | Poems for Youth. By a Family Circle<br>1 vol. Pub. Robinson & Sons. L. | |
| 288. | Poll Book<br>1 vol. Pr. Gore. | |
| 289. | Squib Book. Election Papers (two books.) F. | |

Date and Title. Author.

1821.

290. Sketches taken during Ten Voyages in Africa (between 1786 and 1800) ... ... ... ... ... **Capt. J. Adams.**
1 vol. Pr. James Smith. L.

291. Poems ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... **Mrs. Kentish.**
2nd Edition. Pr. Harris.

292. View of the Intellectual Powers of Man ... ... **Martin.**
1 vol. 2nd Edition. See 1819. L.

293. Poems. 1 vol. P.... ... ... ... ... ... ... **T. Noble.**

294. Systema da ley Sobre Leguros Maritimas, &c., &c. **J. A. Park.**
2 vols. Pr. F. B. Wright.

295. My Book ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... ... **N. Aaron Philomirth.** (Anagram of John Hamilton Parr.)
1 vol. Pub. W. Grapel. L.

296. Geometrical Amusements ... ... ... ... ... **J. H. Swale.**
1 vol. Pr. Johnson. L.

297. The Academic,—Periodical. 22 Numbers
Pub. R. Rockliff.

298. Harry and William; or, the Two Cousins
Pr. F. B. Wright. (Later editions in London.)

299. List of Communications laid before the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, since its institution in 1812 to 1821

300. Liverpool Poll for the Election of Mayor. F.

301. Liverpool Theatrical Investigator. Vol. 1.
1 vol. 129 Penny Numbers, May to December, 1821.
Pub. Johnson. (Vol. 2, 1822.) F.

302. The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, translated from the Vulgate. First pub. by the English College at Rheims, 1582, with annotations
1 vol., 16mo. Pr. E. Smith & Co.

303. Proceedings in the High Court of Chancery, in the case of Peter Sowerby, a Bankrupt
Pr. F. B. Wright.

304. The Thespian: a Series of Essays on the Drama, applicable chiefly to the Theatricals of Liverpool during the season of 1821
Pr. Smith & Melling.

Date and Title. Author.

1822.

305. Analytical Physiology ... ... ... ... Dr. Hood.
1 vol. Remarks on Indian Cholera at page 50. Pr. James Smith. L.

306. Guide to the French Language ... ... ... J. J. P. Le Brethon.
1 vol. 3rd Ed. (See 1803.) Pr. G. F. Harris' Widow and Brothers

307. Views in Lancashire and Cheshire ... ... M. G. Philips.
1 vol. 4to. Pub. N. G. Philips, Chatham Street.

308. The Inverted Scheme of Copernicus. Book First Barthol. Prescot.
1 vol. Pr. J. Lang. (Completed 1823.) L.

309. Lectures on Important Doctrines of the Gospel... Dr. Raffles.
1 vol. Pub. Thomas Taylor. L.

310. Liverpool Theatrical Investigator. Vol. 2.
1 vol. 26 Threepenny Numbers, June to November, 1822. Pub. Johnson. (See 1821.) F.

311. Primum Mobile; or, Solar Repulsion: being a query concerning the primary cause of motion in the solar system
1 vol. Pr. James Smith.

312. Report of a Committee of the Liverpool East India Association on Restrictions of the Trade
1 vol. James Smith.

313. Resolutions, &c., of the Liverpool Royal Institution, from March, 1814, to March, 1822, with the Address of B. A. Heywood, President
1 vol. Pr. G. F. Harris' Widow & Brothers.

1823.

314. History and Geography of European and Asiatic Nations, from their Establishment to the Death of Buonaparte ... ... ... ... ... J. Bradley.
No date. In Palmer's List of Books printed "before 1820" P.

315. Lunar Tables ... ... ... ... ... W. Marrat.

316. On the Practice of Stating Averages ... ... M. Martin.
1 vol. 4to. Pr. G. Cruikshank. L.

317. Bethel Flag; or, Sermons to Seamen ... ... Rev. R. Philip.
Pr. J. Lang.

318. The System of the Universe. Book the Second Barthol. Prescot.
1 vol. Pr. J. Lang. (See 1822, No. 308.) L. F.

Date and Title. Author.

319. Liverpool Apollonius. No. 1 ... ... ... J. H. Swale.
Pr. T. B. Johnson.

320. Catalogue of the Medical Library, Shaw's Brow
1 vol. About 1000 Works. Pr. F. B. Wright. L.

321. Selection of Psalms and Hymns
1 vol. Pr. James Smith. 3rd Edition.

1824.

322. History, Directory, and Gazetteer of the County of Lancaster ... ... ... ... ... E. Baines and W. Parson.
2 vols. Pr. W. Wales & Co., "Advertiser" Office. L.F.

323. Maps to Ditto
1 vol. folio. L. F.

324. The Support of Slavery Investigated ... ... James Cropper.
1 vol. Pr. G. Smith. L.

325. History of Lancashire, with Additions ... ... Gregson.
1 vol. folio. 2nd Edition. (See 1817.) L. F.

326. Plas Newydd and Vale Crucis Abbey, correctly drawn from nature and engraved ... ... S.&G.Nicholson.
1 vol. 4to.

327. Liverpool Apollonius. No. 2. ... ... ... J. H. Swale.
(See 1823.)

328. Wild Roses. Poems ... ... ... ... T. Fenby.
1 vol. Pr. R. Rockliffe. L.

329. The Nepenthes
1 vol. Published in Weekly Numbers.

1825.

330. Observations illustrative of the Historical Account of the Battle of Stoke ... ... ... ... Richd. Brooke, F.S.A.
1 vol. Printed for private distribution.

331. Essays on Geology and Astronomy ... ... W. Colquitt.
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340. History of Liverpool ... ... ... ... H. Smithers.
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341. History of Liverpool ... ... ... ... H. Smithers.
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342. Memoirs of the Rev. B. Goodier
1 vol. Pr. Rushton & Melling. L.

1826.

343. Life in London and Liverpool ... ... ... Bethell.
2 vols. Weekly numbers, 1824, 1825, 1826.

344. The Last Autumn, with other Poems ... ... Mrs. Rose Lawrence.
1 vol. Pr. Robinson. (2nd Edition, 1829, another in 1836.) L.

345. An Exposition of the Auction Laws ... ... A. Lowe and W. Wrenford.
Pr. Harris & Co.

346. The Tears of Albion ... ... ... ... Robert Noyes.
3rd Edition. Pr. H. S. Sankey.

347. Memoirs of William Leece, a Native of the Isle of Man, with Extracts from his Journal ... Rev. H. Stowell.
1 vol. Pr. Marples.

348. The Liverpool Repository of Literature, Philosophy, and Commerce ... ... ... ... An Assoc'tion of Lit. Gentlemen.
1 vol. Pr. Marples. F.

349. Truth. (A Novel)
3 vols. Pub. Robinson.

1827.

350. Death on the Pale Horse ... ... ... ... Rev. John Bruce.
1 vol. Pr. Marples.

351. Sermons (reprinted from the American Edition) Rev. S. Buckminster.
1 vol. Pr. F. B. Wright. A second volume published in London in 1831. L.

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352. Maritime Policy of Great Britain ... ... T. Hare.
1 vol. Pr. T. Kaye. L.

353. Systematic Morality ... ... ... ... W. Jevons, Jun.
2 vols. Pub. Robinson & Grapel. L.

354. Mercantile Time Tables ... ... ... ... J. J. Lightfoot.
1 vol. small folio. Pub. Grapel.

355. Liverpool Directory ... ... ... ... Andrew Picken & Son.
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356. Tour on the Continent ... ... ... ... Rev. Thomas Raffles, D.D.
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357. Life of Thomas Spencer ... ... ... ... Rev. Thomas Raffles, D.D.
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359. Essays on Currency ... ... ... ... J. A. Yates.
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360. Poll Book for Election of Mayor
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1828.

361. Elements of Geography ... ... ... ... J. Bradley, Tutor
1 vol. Pr. G. Bradley.

362. Poems ... ... ... ... ... ... J. Higgin.
1 vol. Pr. W. Grapel. L.

363. Monandrian Plants of the order Scitamineæ ... W. Roscoe.
1 vol. folio. Splendid illustrations. Pub. in London by Cadell; but on the title-page there is only "Liverpool: Printed by George Smith." L.

364. Three Questions Proposed and Answered, concerning the Life Perfected by Adam, the Resurrection of the Dead, and Eternal Punishment ... ... D. Thom, D.D.
1 vol. 1st Edition. Pr. Marples. (2nd Edition, 1835; 3rd Edition, 1849.) L.

365. Observations on the Arts (with tables of the principal Painters of the various Schools) ... ... T. Winstanley.
1 vol. Pr. W. Wales & Co. L.

366. Lancashire Literary Museum
4to Weekly Periodical. Aug., 1827, to Feb., 1829. Edited by James Scott Walker. Pub. E. Wilmer, and others.

Date and Title. Author.

367. Winter's Wreath
Contributed to by Jewsbury, Howitt, Hemans, H. Coleridge, Roscoe, Tartt, Bowring, &c. 1 vol. An Annual. Continued in 1829, 1830, 1831, and 1832. L.

1829.

368. A Companion to the Lakes ... ... ... E. Baines, jun.
1 vol. Pub. Wales & Baines. L.

369. Sympathy; or, The Mourner Advised and Consoled Rev. John Bruce.
1 vol. Pr. Marples. (2nd Edit., 1835; 3rd Edit., 1844.)

370. Lectures on the Eastern World ... ... ... J. S. Buckingham

371. Life of Felix Neff ... ... ... ... ... Rev. T. S. Ellerby
Translated from the French. 1 vol. Pr. Marples.

372. The Last Autumn, &c. ... ... ... ... Mrs. Lawrence.
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373. English Psalmody. Selections ... ... ... J. Molineux.
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374. Guide to Bangor, &c. ... ... ... ... John Smith.
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375. Discourses at the Ordination of Rev. John Kelly
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376. Select Anecdotes
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377. Account of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway; History of Parliamentary Proceedings, &c. Henry Booth.
1 vol. Not dated. Engravings of the "Rocket" and "Novelty." Plans, &c. Pr. Wales & Baines. L.

378. A concise View of the Succession of Sacred Literature, in a Chronological Arrangement of Authors and their Works, to A.D. 1445 ... ... ... A. Clarke, LL.D. & J. B. B. Clarke, M.A.
2 vols. Pub. Baynes. L.
(The 2nd vol. was published in 1832, and is by J. B. B. Clarke only; the extent of the chronological arrangement being also altered to A.D. 1300.)

379. Liverpool. A Poem ... ... ... ... Jas. Grocott, jun.
Pr. S. H. Sankey.

380. The Crucifixion, and other Poems ... ... A Clergyman. (Rev. H. B. Jackson.)
1 vol. Pr. Marples.

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| 381. | A Parting Gift to a Christian Friend ... ... | Miss E. Maurice. |
| | 1 vol. Pr. Marples. 1st, 2nd, and 3rd Editions. (4th, 5th, and 6th, 1831; 7th, 1832; 8th, 9th, and 10th, 1833; 11th and 12th, 1834; 13th, 1835; 14th 1836; 15th, 16th, and 17th, 1837; 18th, 1839; 19th 1841; 20th, 1843.) | |
| 382. | A Bridal Gift ... ... ... ... ... | Miss E. Maurice. |
| | 1 vol. Pr. Marples. (2nd Ed., 1831; 3rd, 1832; 4th, 1834; 5th, 1836; 6th, 1839; 7th, 1842, illuminated.) | |
| 383. | On Locomotive and Fixed Engines ... ... | R. Stephenson and J. Locke. |
| | 1 vol. L. | |
| 384. | The History of Everton ... ... ... ... | Robert Syers. |
| | 1 vol. Pub. G. & J. Robinson and D. Marples. Maps, Plates, and Woodcuts. L. | |
| 385. | The Saviour's Grace and Truth, in the Life of Mrs. Tweddell ... ... ... ... ... | Rev. R. Tweddell. |
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| 386. | Letters of a Recluse | |
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| 392. | Squib Book | |
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1831.

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| 393. | Physiological Fragments and Essays (1826 to 1831) | John Bywater. |
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| 394. | Cameos from the Antique, or Cabinet of Mythology | Mrs. Lawrence. |
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| 395. | Lael and Chilion, or the Modern Eremites ... | Rev. E. Loxdale. |
| | 1 vol. Pub. Marples. L. | |

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396. Narrativo da Passageur do Pacifico do Atlantico H. S. Man.
1 vol. Pr. F. B. Wright.

397. Discourses to Seamen ... ... ... ... Rev.W.Scoresby
1 vol. Pr. Marples.

398. Letters and Sermons on the Loss of the Rothsay Castle ... ... ... ... ... ... Rev.J.H.Stewart
1 vol. Pr. G. Smith. Many editions.

399. On the Formation of the Christian Character ... Henry Ware.
1 vol. Pr. F. B. Wright (from American Edition). L.

400. Le Clerc's "Sentimens de quelques Théologiens de Hollande, touchant l'Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament"
Translated by A. G. Müller, with Notes. Date uncertain.

401. Sacred Offering: a Poetical Annual. Vol. I.
1 vol. Edited by Mrs. T. Jevons and Miss Jane Roscoe, (Mrs. Hornblower). Pr. Marples. (Continued in 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835, and 1838. 6 vols. in all.) L.

1832.

402. Sermons and Prayers ... ... ... ... J. J. Gurney.
1 vol. Pr. Marples. L.

403. Three Sermons delivered in the Friends' Meeting House, Liverpool ... ... ... ... ... J. J. Gurney.
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404. The Mediation of Jesus Christ ... ... ... Rev. T. Jones.
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406. Gathered Flowers. (Poems) ... ... ... Miss Martin.
1 vol. Pr. Marples. (2nd Edition, 1835.)

407. Tour on the Continent ... ... ... ... Dr. Raffles.
1 vol. 5th Edition. Pr. T. Taylor. (See 1819.)

408. The K'Haunie Kineh-Walla; or, Eastern Story Teller ... ... ... ... ... ... John Shipp.
1 vol. Pub. T. Taylor. L.

409. Coffee Guide ... ... ... ... ... R. Syers.
1 vol. Dedicated to the Temperance Society. Pr. Marples. L.

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| 410. | The Millwright and Engineer's Pocket Companion<br>1 vol. Pr. The Mercury Office. Illustrated. Many subsequent editions. | Wm. Templeton. |
| 411. | Sermons and Occasional Services by the Rev. John Hincks, with Memoir of the Author ... ...<br>1 vol. Pr. G. & J. Robinson. L. | Rev. J. H. Thom. |
| 412. | Description of Liverpool and Manchester Railway; the opening; Huskisson's death and funeral, &c.<br>1 vol. Plates. Pr. J. F. Cannell & Co. 3rd Edition. (1st Edition without date, and smaller.) | James Scott Walker. |
| 413. | Addresses delivered by the Presidents of the Liverpool Philomathic Society, 1828 to 1831<br>Pub. Thomas Hodgson. | |
| 414. | On the Jewish and Christian Sabbath<br>1 vol. Pr. Marples. | |
| 415. | Memoirs of Signor Paganini<br>Pr. Rockliffe & Duckworth. | |
| 416. | Poetical Guide to the Isle of Man<br>Pr. S. H. Sankey. | |
| 417. | Primitive Episcopal Church Magazine. Nos. 1, 2 & 3<br>Pub. J. Pannell, 24, Byrom Street. | |
| 418. | The Rose of Four Seasons: a selection of Prose and Poetry<br>1 vol. Pr. Marples. | |
| | 1833. | |
| 419. | Ireland in the Nineteenth Century, and Seventh of England's Domination... ... ... ...<br>1 vol. Pr. Marples. L. | A. Atkinson. |
| 420. | The Coronal. (Original Poems) ... ... ...<br>1 vol. Pr. Marples. | Mary A. Browne |
| 421. | Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel Medley, with selections from his writings ... ... ... ...<br>1 vol. Pr. J. Jones. (The first Memoir, by his son, published in London, 1800.) | Sarah Medley. |
| 422. | Catalogue of the Library of the Liverpool Law Society<br>1 vol. Pr. Geo. Smith. | |
| 423. | Medical Gazette. Monthly Journal<br>Edited by Dr. Hunter Lane. Pr. Kaye. 1 vol. L. | |
| 424. | The Poetry of Birds<br>1 vol. 4to. Colored illustrations. Pub. Geo. Smith. | |

Date and Title. Author.

1834.

425. Birthday Gift. (Original Poems) ... ... Mary A. Browne
1 vol. Pr. Marples.

426. A Cypress Wreath for an Infant's Grave... ... Rev. John Bruce
1 vol. Pr. Marples. (2nd Edition, 1845.)

427. A Cypress Wreath for the Grave of a Young Person Rev. John Bruce
1 vol. Pr. Marples.

428. Remarks on Criminal Law and the Prevention of Crime ... ... ... ... ... ... Thomas Jevons.
1 vol. Pr. Marples.

429. The Monthly Archives of the Medical Sciences ... Hunter Lane.
5 Parts, Jan. to May. 484 pp.

430. Letters to a Young Master Mariner ... ... Charles Lorimer
1 vol. Pr. G. Smith.

431. Journal of a Tour in Norway ... ... ... Edward Price.
1 vol. 4to, with Engravings. Pr. Marples. L.

432. The Private Soldier ... ... ... ... J. Shipp.
1 vol. Pr. Johnson & Son.

433. The Melange: Original Pieces in Prose and Verse Egerton Smith.
1 vol. Illustrated. F.

434. The Horoscope; a Weekly Miscellany of Astrology
19 Numbers. Edited by Zadkiel. Willmer & Smith.

435. Liverpool Medical Journal
1 vol. Monthly; but only 2 Numbers published.
Pub. W. Grapel. L.

436. The Lyre and Sword of Chas. Theodore Körner, with Life, &c.
Translated from the German by W. B. Chorley. 1 vol.
Pr. Marples.

437. The Picture of Liverpool; or, Stranger's Guide
1 vol. Pub. T. Taylor.

438. Summer Rambles
1 vol. Pr. Marples. Plates.

1835.

439. Dorcas ... ... ... ... ... ... Rev. J. Bruce.
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440. Sympathy ... ... ... ... ... ... Rev. J. Bruce.
1 vol. 2nd Edition. (See 1829.)

441. French Reader's Guide ... ... ... ... M. de la Claverie.
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442. Hygiene; or, The Art of Prolonging Life ... J. B. Davies.
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456. Memoir of — Gilbert, Esq., Antigua
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457. A Report of the Proceedings of a Court of Inquiry into the Existing State of the Corporation of Liverpool (in November, 1833)
1 vol. folio. Many maps. Pr. J. & J. Mawdsley. L.

Date and Title. Author.

458. The Story Teller; or, Fireside Companion.
1 vol. Pub. W. R. Knipe.

1836.

459. The Mother's Practical Guide ... ... ... Mrs. J. Bakewel.
1 vol. Pub. Marples.

460. Without Faith without God ... ... ... John Barclay.
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1 vol. 1st and 2nd editions. Pub. Willmer & Smith. Other Editions in London.

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494. On the Office of a Notary of England ... ... R. Brooke, F.S.A.
(2nd Edition, 1848.)

495. Lectures on Revivals of Religion ... ... C. G. Finney.
1 vol. 9th Edition. Liverpool, London, Glasgow, Sydney, &c. (See 1838.)

496. The Stranger's Pocket Guide Through Liverpool H. Gawthrop.
1 vol. Pr. B. Smith. Two or three editions published. The work then transferred to other hands, enlarged, and re-published as the "Picturesque Handbook." See 1842 and 1846.

497. A Flora of Liverpool, with Meteorological Tables for 1838 ... ... ... ... ... ... T. B. Hall.
1 vol. With Map of the district. Pub. Walmsley and T. Hodgson. L.

498. Thoughts of Peace... ... ... ... ... Miss E. Parr.
1 vol. Pr. Marples. (2nd and 3rd Editions, 1840; 4th, 1841; 5th, 1842; 6th, 1843; 7th, 1845; 8th, 1848; 9th, 1850.)

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510. Triplicity ... ... ... ... ... ... Thomas Lance.
2 vols. Pub. Henry Perris. (A Treatise on the Trinity.)

511. The Lasting Resentment of Miss Keaou Lwang Wang
Chinese Novel. Translated by Robert Thom, H.B.M. Consul at Ningpo. 1 vol. thin 4to. (1st Edition, 4to, published in 1839 at Canton; in Liverpool Library. Re-published (1840) in London and Liverpool. Translated also into German; published in Leipsic.) L.

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512. Catalogue of the Library of the Liverpool Mechanics' Institution
1 vol. Pr. Marples.

513. The High School Magazine

514. Poll-book for Election of Sixteen Councillors
1 vol. Pr. Lace & Addison.

515. Sir Elwyn. A Tragedy
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1841.

516. Psalms and Hymns, Selected and Revised ... Seacome Ellison
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517. Lectures on the Acts ... ... ... ... Rev. J. Jones.
2 vols. Pub. A. Newling. Printed at Leicester. L.

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526. Laws and Report of the First Two Years' Proceedings of the Polytechnic Society of Liverpool

527. The Liverpool Register of Shipping
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528. Memoirs of Henry Park, Surgeon
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529. Poll Book
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556. North and South Wales ... ... ... ... Thomas Roscoe.
2 vols. Illustrated. Pub. Webb. (In numbers. First pub. at Birmingham.)

557. The Handbook of Liverpool ... ... ... Jas. Stonehouse.
1 vol. Not dated. Published by Lacey. (2 Editions. The 1st pub. as "Pictorial Liverpool," the 2nd in a cheaper form without illustrations, as "The Handbook")

558. A Selection of Hymns for Wallasey Church
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1845.

559. Spring Gatherings. Poems ... ... ... Geo. L. Banks.
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560. A Cypress Wreath for an Infant's Grave ... Rev. J. Bruce.
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561. Sonnets, and other Poems ... ... ... ... Mrs. T. Jevons
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1846.

569. Moral and Religious Tales for the Young, from the French of G. Ben Levi ... ... ... A. Abraham.
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576. Collection of English Poetry, for the Collegiate Schools
1 vol. Pub. Webb.

577. Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool. Proceedings. Vol. 2.
1 vol. (See 1845.)

578. London and Liverpool at Table
1 vol. Date uncertain. Pub. Webb.

1847.

579. Practice of the Borough Court of Liverpool ... John C. Grocott.
1 vol. 2nd Edition. J. Walmsley. See 1837. F.

580. Christian Retirement; or, Spiritual Exercises of the Heart ... ... ... ... ... ... T. S. B. Reade.
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583. Transactions of the Liverpool Polytechnic Society, for 1844-6.
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| 594. | Sketch of the History of the House of Russell... 1 vol. Pub. D. Ross. L. | D. Ross. |
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| 599. | Sermons (with Memoir of the Author by Dr. Byrth) 1 vol. Pr. Marples. L. | T. Tattershall, D.D. |
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| 601. | M'Corquodale's Liverpool Directory. 1 vol. F. | |
| | 1849. | |
| 602. | Discourses on the Immateriality and Immortality of the Soul; the character and folly of modern Atheism, and the necessity of a Divine Revelation 1 vol. 2nd Edition. | Rev. T. Allin. |
| 603. | History of the Inquisition ... ... ... 1 vol. Pr. Marples. 2nd Edition, 1850. | C. H. Davie. |
| 604. | Seaside and Fireside. Poems ... ... ... 1 vol. Pr. Marples. L. | H.W.Longfellow |
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| 608. | Romanism an Apostate Christianity ... ... 1 vol. Pr. Marples. | Rev. Verner M. White. |
| 609. | Roscoe Magazine. (Monthly Numbers.) ... 1 vol. Pub. Howell. L. F. | Members of the Roscoe Club. |
| 610. | Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. Proceedings and Papers. Vol. 1. 1 vol. (Continued in 1850.) | |

Date and Title. Author.

611. Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool. Proceedings. Vol. 5.
1 vol. (See 1845.)

612. Transactions of the Liverpool Polytechnic Society, from December, 1846, to April, 1849
1 vol. Pr. R. James.

1850.

613. A Glimpse of Hayti and her Negro Chief ... Rev.C.M. Birrell
1 vol. Pr. Marples.

614. Poems (with Essay on the Genius and Writings of the Author, by the Rev. George Gilfillan) ... William Bryant.
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623. Poems, Lyrical and Dramatic ... ... ... H.W.Longfellow
1 vol. With Introductory Essay by George Gilfillan. 2nd Edition. Pub. J. Walker.

624. The Helleniad. A Poem. Part 1. ... ... George M'Henry
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625. On the Scotch Kirks and Congregations of Liverpool; being a brief Sketch of their Rise and Progress ... ... ... ... ... ... D. Thom, D.D.

626. Artizans' Prize Essays on the Influence of Rational and Elevating Amusements on the Working Classes
By James Norris, journeyman printer; John Priest, watchmaker; and John Teare, tool maker. 1 vol. F.

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627. Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire. Proceedings. Vol. 2.
1 vol. (See 1849.)

628. The Original; a Periodical established by a Few Young Men, as an Amusement for their Leisure Hours
1 vol. Pr. "Albion" Office.

629. Shipbuilding in Liverpool
1 vol. Pr. "Mail" office.

630. A Treatise on the Climate and Meteorology of Madeira, by the late J. A. Mason, M.D. Edited by James Sheridan Knowles. (With a Review of the State of Agriculture, &c., by G. Peacock, D.D., and an Historical Account, &c., by John Driver.)
1 vol. Pub. Deighton & Laughton. L.

631. The following works, of which the separate issues have been numerous, will be found mentioned, with details, under the date of their first appearance, viz.:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Liverpool Library Catalogues | 1758 |
| Gore's Directories | 1766 |
| Stranger in Liverpool | 1807 |
| Kaleidoscope | 1818 |
| Winter's Wreath | 1828 |
| Parting Gift | 1830 |
| Bridal Gift | 1830 |
| Sacred Offering | 1831 |
| Thoughts of Peace | 1839 |

# HISTORIC PARALLELS.

*By David Buxton, F.R.S.L., Hon. Librarian.*

(Read 14th February, 1861.)

One of the most curious things in history, and, as I venture to think, not the least instructive of all those which history presents to the consideration of the careful student, is the parallelism which may be discovered between events occurring in different ages, and at remote places.

The subject and period treated of in Mr. Mayer's recent paper recalled to my mind one very striking illustration of this, which I am induced now to bring before you.

Is it not a very singular fact that so many of the events of the "Great Rebellion" in this country, should have been acted over again in the French Revolution? Both these great national outbreaks arose through contentions between the king and his parliament: in both countries, the king was captured after an attempted flight: in both, he was brought to a mock trial before his own subjects: by them he was condemned, and by them beheaded. In both countries the nobility and clergy fell with the monarch: in both, the parliament was at length superseded by an usurper: in both, that usurper was the first military genius of the age: in both (for the period of Richard Cromwell's rule is of no weight to the contrary), the usurping power was not continued beyond the tenure of the first possessor: in both, the legitimate succession was restored with great *éclat:* but, in both, the successors of the restored sovereigns were dethroned: in both cases, the vacant throne was offered to, and accepted by, a different branch of the royal family, the deposed sovereign being driven into exile—the English king

(James II.) into France, and the French monarch (Charles X.) into England: the exclusion of both these sovereigns extended to their descendants; but in both, the power of the hero of the revolution was limited to himself: William and Mary had no child to inherit the crown, and Louis Philippe died an expelled exile.

But there are circumstances connected with these events which are yet more singular than even these strange coincidences. The parallel occurrences took place within a few years of exactly a century and a half. Charles I. was beheaded in the decade 1640-1650 :—add 150 years to this, and we are brought to 1790-1800. It was within that period that Louis XVI. was put to death. Charles II. was restored A.D. 1660. In 1815, a century and a half (plus 5 years) later, Louis XVIII. succeeded Napoleon in the throne of France, as Charles had put an end to the rule of the Cromwells in England. James II. was dethroned, and William of Orange appointed king, A.D. 1688-9: add 150 years to this, and we are brought to 1830-1840; and it was in the "three glorious days of July," 1830, that the dynasty of Charles X. fell, and Louis Philippe was called to succeed him.

Is it fair, or is it safe, to reason from these facts? They do not stand alone either. There are others which history would furnish, from different periods: as, for example, the efforts of Queen Mary, to re-establish the Papal authority, and stop the Reformation in England, in the middle of the sixteenth century; and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, intended to extirpate the Reformation in France, at the end of the seventeenth,—the results of which were much alike in the two countries.

Very recently, the present ruler of France boasted before the world, in reference to his campaign in Italy, that France was the only country which could afford to go to war "for an idea." There was a time in our history when we might have made

the same boast. It was at the Peace of Utrecht—a *century and a half ago*. For what more than "an idea" did we go to war when Marlborough commanded our victorious armies in the Low Countries? He won all his battles, yet gained nothing for his cause. We all know old Caspar's pointless story to his grandchildren, and its lame conclusion, about the "famous victory" of Blenheim—when

> "Everybody praised the Duke,
> Who such a fight did win;
> But what good came of it, at last?
> Quoth little Peterkin.
> Why, that I cannot tell, said he;
> But, 'twas a famous victory."

Surely such fighting "for an idea," *and nothing more*, would gratify the vanity and justify the boast of even the Emperor of the French. We have, however, lived on a century and a half in the life of a nation, and have left that age of empty boastfulness so far behind. The war I have just been speaking of was a marvellous instance of doing a great deal for nothing, on the one hand; and losing everything, yet surrendering nothing, on the other. Macaulay describes it as having been undertaken "for the purpose of transferring the crown of Spain from one bigoted Catholic to another." A notable *idea*, truly, for the two successors of James II., *in his own lifetime*, to lend themselves to; and yet, though Marlborough's victories were signal, complete, and crushing—though the actual King of Spain was habitually beaten, and twice driven as a fugitive from his own capital—though the vast power of France was nearly ruined through its efforts to support him, so that Louis had, twice over, begged for terms of peace which yielded everything, but which were scornfully rejected, the final result was the conclusion of peace upon terms which gained nothing to the cause of those whose arms had gained everything, but actually secured the permanent possession of the throne to the very man whom all the combined and victorious efforts of

England and her allies had been aiming to destroy: so that among other things, perhaps, the passion of "fighting for "an idea" may have attacked our neighbours in France, a hundred and fifty years after we had outgrown it.*

May we venture, then, to draw the inference that, historically, these neighbours of ours are a century and a half behind ourselves? Such an inference would, perhaps, be too galling to them, and too flattering to ourselves. I will not presume to theorize upon the subject. I simply place before you the facts and the dates: deal with them as you please; but one reflection seems forced upon the most indifferent observer, which is, that in reference to the political freedom, and the social condition of the French people, a century and a half does not seem too long a term to give them to emerge from their present state, and to overtake ourselves. May the day be nearer than that. The free man knows no jealousy; he is only anxious that those less fortunate than he should rejoice in the same liberty, know how to value it wisely, and to enjoy it with moderation; and in so doing reap all the varied blessings,—social, political, and national,—which freedom brings in its train.

Dr. Arnold, in his Lectures on Modern History, has well said—"The harvest gathered in the fields of the past is to be "brought home for the use of the present." Such is the use of History. "We live, to some extent, in peace and comfort," says another writer, "upon the results obtained for us by the "chronicles of our forefathers. We do not see this," he adds,

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* In reference to the "Freedom of the Press" (if that term is descriptive of the thraldom which still fetters the French Press), perhaps some little advance has been made by our neighbours—they approach us a *little* nearer; for it is not quite a century and a half (though not much less) since that parallel period in our own history, when Dr. Johnson wrote the debates in Parliament, under the title of "The Senate of Lilliput," and evaded the restrictions of the law by giving feigned names to the speakers, or substituting transparent parodies, or clumsy anagrams, which disclosed what they appeared to conceal.

"without some reflection. But imagine what a full-grown "nation would be if it knew no history—like a full-grown man "with only a child's experience." Indeed we do not require to *imagine* such a case. It EXISTS, in that strange people whom we have just defeated in the fortresses of their exclusiveness and their prejudice, in the remotest East. What an astounding and incredible amount of ignorance will be removed from the minds of the Chinese people by a knowledge of our history: when they know *really* who and what we are. Next to the Gospel itself, nothing, we may venture to say, would go so far to render impossible the monstrous proceedings of that people as to know who it is they have been fighting against.*

But this is a wide subject. Our recent enemies have yet to learn the first *rudiments* of that wonderful story which tells how the inhabitants of "this little isle, set in the silver sea," have grown up through the trials and struggles of a thousand years, to be the ruling race of the wide uñiverse. To us it is a familiar story, and we can afford to turn from the grand picture, as it spreads itself on the broad canvas of the past, to a closer examination of some of its smaller details. Indeed, the eminent living author just now quoted, says—"The most "likely way of attracting men's attention to historical subjects "will be by presenting them with small portions of history, of "great interest, thoroughly examined. This may give them the "habit of applying thought and criticism to historical matters."† Such has been my purpose in the notes and queries with which I opened this paper; and when we come to see how events and characters seem to be repeated, and reproduced, in various periods of the world's history: how, in the language of Holy Writ—"The thing which hath been is that which shall

* Macaulay quotes Voltaire as saying, in one of his 6000 pamphlets, that he was the first person who told the French that England had produced eminent men besides the Duke of Marlborough.

† "Friends in Council," ii. 206."

"be, and that which is done is that which shall be done, and "there is no new thing under the sun," we seem to get at this principle as the law of human progress—that "one thing "is set over against another." Motion is not continuous and direct, but fitful and erratic; action and *re*action are in constant interchange. The advance of the human race may be compared to the climbing up a hill—a struggle against the natural law of gravitation; you go now to this side with your load of drawbacks, and now to that, and it is by the constant tendency upwards that (errors and accidents excepted) the ascent is slowly and surely made, in spite of inevitable obstacles.

If you examine into the history of human thought and action, you will find this to be the common rule. Sometimes slowly, and with a measured tread, and at other times with a quick rebound, this alternation is constantly occurring, and the facts which it discloses are some of the most striking phenomena in the history of man. The martyr of one age is the hero of the next: the heresy of one generation is the creed of its successor: the theories and dreams of to-day are the realized facts of to-morrow: down deep, and nearly lost, they may be, in the trough of the sea at one period, but it is only to be thrown up high upon the beach into the light of day upon the crest of the next succeeding wave. Thus the rebound from superstition is to infidelity: from tyranny to anarchy. The laxity of Charles the Second's reign was the historical consequence of the bow having been too sternly bent during the ascendancy of Cromwell and the Puritans, in the times we have already spoken of. The military despotisms of the Bonapartes have arisen out of the disorganisation of the preceding revolutions. The homœopathist will tell you that his mode of medical treatment, and the pre-Raphaelite will insist that his own particular *craze*, have sprung into existence in precisely the same manner—as the revulsion from their opposites. In

New England, the rigid prohibition of all theatrical amusements has led finally to this result—"That the rage for scenic representation," according to the testimony of a recent traveller, "is, perhaps, greater in Boston, than in any town in the "United States, except New Orleans."

As the grand-daughters of those who used to pin themselves up in the straitest of skirts, now flourish in all the spreading amplitude of crinoline; as the ladies of our time have been wearing a tire for the head which is a great deal less than a bonnet, while those of Queen Caroline's day wore one which was a great deal more than a bonnet; as the reaction from "pantaloons" is to "pegtops;" and the gossamer tie has displaced that stifling winding-sheet about the neck, which even Beau Brummel could not adjust without innumerable "failures;" as the sons of over-strict parents are sometimes the greatest of reprobates; as Voltaire avowed that he was first made an infidel by being required to believe what he felt to be incredible; as the founder of the *Tablet* newspaper—more Romish than the Romanists—had been brought up a Quaker; as Sir Francis Burdett, who had been imprisoned in the Tower as the most refractory of Radicals, became, in his old age, the most tenacious of Tories:—so is it still in every other sphere where the fallibility of human nature opens the door to the operation of the same law.

Not long ago, churches were built like barns: they were mean, and cheap, and hideous: it seemed as if anything was good enough for God's service. That evil has cured itself, or been cured, and now it is evidently thought that nothing is too good to give to Him who gives us everything. If it were necessary to seek for other illustrations, and fitting to take them from the history of the different schools of religious thought amongst us, we should readily see this same truth strikingly exemplified in our various "church parties." An age of cold intellectualism is followed by one of earnest

spiritualism ; and a zealous upholding of the doctrines of the Faith, produces, at length, a closer attention to the externals of church order and discipline.

And thus it is, that while we are ever rushing onwards, we are constantly looking back. We take our lessons from the Past, while we buckle on our armour to do the work of the Present and the Future. Surrounded as we are by new discoveries, and by the novel application of knowledge which is no longer new, the principle of deference to authority and reverence for antiquity meets us at every step. But, more singular still, our own veneration for what is ancient, is altogether eclipsed—absolutely placed out of the reach of all reasonable comparison, by the passion for the relics of old associations and manners which, in our American brethren—in the newest and the most progressive nation upon earth—amounts almost to idolatry. Witness the crowds of enthusiastic pilgrims from the New World to the home scenes which are associated with the names and the works of our common forefathers: witness the anxiety which was expressed to have Shakspeare's house carried across the Atlantic, and set up as it stands at Stratford, in the western world: witness also the avidity with which the best copies of the best editions of English books of value are bought up in this country to enrich American libraries. To what also, but to the wide-spread influence of the same principle can we fairly ascribe the extensive reprint of old books; the undeniable popularity of old authors; the prevalent love for antiquities; the intelligent admiration for the Old Masters in painting; the increasing familiarity with the works of the older musical composers; and the reproduction of old forms and fashions in things innumerable? Indeed, this love of what is old has attained to the dignity of a science, and we have its activity and research evidenced in the various departments of Ethnology, Archæology, and Philology, in which the lovers of such pursuits may busy themselves, very profitably,

to enquire into the origin of races, their popular customs, and their current languages. "The lovers of poetry" said one who was ardent in his love of it—the late Professor Wilson—"The lovers of poetry have fallen back upon still "older bards. Think ye that Shakspeare and Milton are "without their worshippers? . . . . . In how many thousand "libraries—great and small—are they to be found? Bequeathed "unawares from generation to generation, neglected by whole "families during their whole lifetimes, by their successors "rescued from idle oblivion, their names again household "words, and their spirits household gods."

But it is unnecessary, and would only be tedious, to prosecute this inquiry, or accumulate these illustrations, further.

One conclusion which we may fairly draw from the study of general history seems obviously deducible here: that all results in the life and progress of nations must be allowed the proper period for their natural growth. If they are worth having, they are worth waiting for; and if they are to be beneficial, not baneful—satisfying, and not disappointing—they *must* be waited for—and *must* be the result of natural growth and prudent culture. The gourd which grows up in a night will wither in a day, and afford only the mockery of a shelter; while the sturdy oak, which has grown strong in resisting and braving the storms of centuries, is destined to long life still; to glow in many a summer's sun; to weather many a wintry blast; and to be the refuge and the trust of unknown generations yet to come.

Nor is it forbidden to us to look further; and, assuredly, if we do reverently look, we shall infallibly find, the signs of a Divine Presence, and the workings of a Divine Power in the affairs of the world, which should move us to earnest endeavours that we may realize our own responsibility, and

discharge our own duty. For whatever else may change they can never change. Our own responsibility will survive every change of dynasty: our own duty remain unaltered through every change of polity. And the fact that the various systems which have prevailed in the government of even our own country, were suited to other times, and are not in their completeness suited to our own, suggests this reflection also—that all the different systems of polity which Providence permits at various periods to influence the destinies of nations, have in them something specially adapted to the exigencies of the times in which they exist, and that under Divine superintendence each performs its purpose better than any other institution could possibly perform it. And when that purpose is effected, and society has been benefited thereby, and circumstances have changed, and fresh necessities have sprung up which demand new agencies adapted to their peculiar characters, other systems arise which operate under the same High sanction and for the same great ends, and thus human improvement and human happiness are beneficently and wisely ministered unto by Him whose creatures we are, and whose will is our present happiness as a preparative for our future glory.

# INEDITED LETTERS OF CROMWELL, COLONEL JONES, BRADSHAW AND OTHER REGICIDES.

*By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. &c.*

(Read 6th December, 1860.)

In bringing before the Society the following letters, through the kindness of the Rev. Cyrus Morrall, of Plas Yolyn, Chirk, a descendant of Col. Jones, whose property they now are, it is not my intention to discuss the legality of the trial and execution of Charles the First, or to offer any remarks respecting the unpatriotic and treasonous conduct of the king towards the people, and his desire to subvert the religion which by his coronation oath he had sworn to defend, but merely to publish them in entirety, leaving the unprejudiced to form their own conclusions as to the genuineness of the piety and religious enthusiasm displayed throughout the whole series; as, now that the lapse of time since the occurrences to which they relate has in some degree moderated the rancorous feelings which prevailed for a long period after the accession of Charles the Second to the throne, we may hope to be able to do with a juster apprehension of the merits of the various actors than has been possible hitherto. The greater reason now I have in doing so is, that the Papers now being published under the surveillance of the Master of the Rolls, are putting us in a better position to understand the history of the times which witnessed such unchristian and bloody executions.

(Col$^{l}$ Jones) To Leift. gen$^{ll}$ Ludlow.

Dear S$^{r}$

I have to present but my reall affeccens, and my hearty desire of enjoying yo$^{r}$ Company, and if I had a Call from the place for it where you are, I should gladly embrace it, and share in yo$^{r}$ hardshipp with you. The inclosed contains all the newes wee have here. The Lord is gratious in his Dealing towards us, mixing grains of crosses and afliccons w$^{th}$ oceans of mercies and deliverances, that o$^{r}$ low spirits are apt to grow regardles of the manifestacions of his love when we enjoy them in a continued series, may have the more quicker and more feeling apprehensions of them. I am sorry w$^{th}$ all my soule, that wee are fayne to give my Lord soe sad an accompt of his affairs in these parts. We have Job's messengers from most precincts of the defects and fayler of assessments for pay of the Forces assigned to each precinct, and the fayler is in this precinct more than in any, and yet wee doo not know of any money assigned from England for this place, save the 2500*l* and the 1639, menconed in my Lords' Papers, sent him: Whereof 4000*l* was taken up long since by Bills of Exchange, and wholly issued out. The rest (I hope) not yet come over, for if it bee it is wholly spent. The accompt of that cash wee have not, because the Deputy Tr'er is gone for England when wee were in the North. We have made this morning inquiry what cash wee have in all Treasuries heere, all the stock wee have is about 2500*l* in the Receipts of Customes and excise, whereof we now fayne to issue out this day 1000*l* to provide corne for y$^{e}$ forces in the feild, and to pay some troopes that were much in arrears. This is the last dropp of oyle in o$^{r}$ cruce, and that being spent wee know not what to doe. Want comes upon us like an armed mann, but o$^{r}$ gracious God is all sufficient, and when wee are in our greatest streights he

will bring deliverance. I had communicated what I write to you to my Lord, but that I was to trouble him by my particular relation, you may doe what you please therein. I am glad soe much of my Lord's company, truly my affeccons are very warme towards him. I thinke the Earth doeth not beare a more meeke, upright heart towards God than he, if any thing bee amisse in him, it is his being nimis exact as it idolizing the best morall vertue, Justice. It is a blessed thing to have congregacon and fellowship w^th^ such. I beg y^r^ favo^r^ to present my humble service to S^r^ Hardres Waller, and Col. Cromwell, and favourably esteeme this trouble put upon you by

Yo^r^ faithfull friend and humble Servant,

JO. JONES.

My services to Mr. Corbett. Yo^r^ houses are in good care, and all well at your house. The sickness decreases, 36 this week of all Diseases. Dublin, 3^d^ September, 1651.

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To Agitant Gen^ll^ Allen,

Deare S^r^

It is a happy acquaintance that is founded in a Gospelle accompt, and although I am one of the least, and the latest, that can challenge that w^th^ you, yet since I have known yo^r^ Xtian spirit, and temper to be such, I have rejoyced in my hearte to consider the faithfullness of our Father, who hath said that he is noe respecter of Persons, but pulleth downe y^e^ proud from their seates, and exalteth the humble and meeke, w^ch^ he hath not onely made good in o^r^ dayes, whereof we are wittnesses, but he hath raised poor sinfull Creatures, above their spheares in the Affaires of the World, that they might be humble and meeke: This may seeme a Paradoxe, but it is very true. I may say

that I have bene in that condicion, as was scarce capable exercising that grace of humility in the outward conversacon, untill the Lord was pleased to bring me out of it. The Lord grant us more discovery of his eternall love every Day, and keeping us from waxing fatt (as Jossuram), and forgetting our God that formed us, or lightly esteeming of the Rock of o$^{r}$ Salvation. He hath planted his word in o$^{r}$ hearts y$^{t}$ wee may doe it; and this doeing is comprehended in very few (but very sweet) words—"to doe justly, "to love mercy, and to walke humbly w$^{th}$ o$^{r}$ God." Mich. 6, 8. Oh, that o$^{r}$ Spirits were continually bathed in that everlasting fountain of love, that wee might continually bee breathing out that love, for refreshing hungry, barren soules! The Lord hath given you a talent, whereof you are to give an accompt. Examine well whether you are as frequent in speaking a word of exhortacon in publiq$^{e}$ for the helpe of simple ignorant souldiers as formerly, and if not, see that you have a good warrant for it. We must be alwayes listning behinde us, for that word w$^{ch}$ is promised in Esaiah 30, 21, saying, "this is the way, walke in it." My purpose was to thank you for yo$^{r}$ kind l$^{res}$ w$^{ch}$ came to o$^{r}$ hands long since, w$^{ch}$ the Com$^{r}$ tooke very kindly, although they contained noe other matter but a representacion of yo$^{r}$ Respects. His little Majesty of Scotland, w$^{th}$ an army of 12,000 horse and foote, 20th of last month in Shropshire; Lambert and Harrison, w$^{th}$ a considerable strength of horse and dragoons, but few foot, in Leitchfield; the Lord gen$^{ll}$ within 3 dayes march w$^{th}$ the Infantry and Trayne; Fleetwood w$^{th}$ some force coming up—this is o$^{r}$ last intelligence from England. The Lord give us believing and praying spirits. On the last Lord's day Sherlock, with 150 horse and 30 dragoons, preyed the cattle of this towne of Baggotts Rath; L$^{t}$ Howlitt, of Col$^{l}$ Howson Troope, got together 40 of his horse and as

many of the Towne horse, and pursued 5 miles, and there engaged upon a disadavantage of number and ground, and was imediately worsted, himselfe wounded, 25 slayne, and Capt^n^ Lankey w^th^ 21 more men were taken prisoners. Wee lost in the service and prey about 100 serviceable horse, y^e^ draught oxen, and 130 cowes; I lost an horseman and my best horse. The enemy grow in these partes into a considerable strength, and are much heightened in their spirits, but the cursed thing stickes to them. They abound in oathes and hideous blasphemies, they have Pharaoh's heart to destroy God's people: who knowes but that their spirits are raised to draw them together to destroy them? The Lord's judgm^ts^ are unsearchable, and his wayes past finding out. I pray present my humble service to Col^l^ Cromwell, Dr. Chartwright, whose kindness I shall never forgett, and the rest of my acquaintance where you are. The God of peace, who hath brought againe the Lord Jesus from the Dead by the blood of the everlasting couvn^t^, make you perfect in every good worke.

Yo^r^ very affectionate Friend,

JO. JONES.

Dublin, September 3rd, 1651.

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To Mr. Henry Jones, Scout M^r^ Gene^ll^

Honoured S^r^

I have had a sight of yo^r^ intelligence to Aldrān Hutchinson, and therein of your kind Remembrance of me, for w^ch^ I cordially thanke you; and give me leave a little, as one that doeth love and hono^r^ you, to be free in my weake advice. There be some that doe take notice how you doe write yo^r^ name, and from thence make some conclusons to yo^r^ prejudice, as the affecting of Titular Dignityes, although empty and scandalous and serving noe end

but that of Pride and vaine glory, w^th^ God in o^r^ time beares testimony ag^t^ or els the opinion of a divine Right in that order w^th^ yo^r^ conscience will not give you leave to lay aside, although you fight ag^t^ the uphold^r^ of those kind of ordo^r^ When you have leisure I would wish you would some time write to the Com^rs^ of the affaires where you are, yo^rs^ when it comes being very exact and satisfactory, it will be well taken, and cannot be any diservice to you. The last Lord's Day Sherlock, with 150 horse and 30 firelocks, came to Baggots Rath and preyed the cattle and horses, to the number of 120 cowes and 40 horses, and Cap^t^ Howlett, w^th^ about 40 of his owne horse and about as many of the towne horse, pursued 5 miles, and was worsted, lost about 25 slayne and 22 taken prisoners. The Lord discov^r^ unto us his mind in these his dealings towards us. I have noe more at present, but to assure you that I am,

Yo^r^ affeccionate Friend and Kinsman,

Dublin, 8^d^ September, 1651. JO. JONES.

Postcript.

Mr. Henry Jones, Scout M^r^ Gen^ll^

Mr. Scott now supplies the office of the Secretary of State, at the Councell of State, desires me to have timely intelligence of all passages, and intellegenc^es^ of concernm^t^, and hath intrusted and desired me to procure him such. If you please to furnish us w^th^ what occurres to you, it wil-bee a speciall favo^r^ to us; both if there be any appearances of crosse Interests growing amongst o^r^ Friends, it is good it should be timely observed and made known, to prevent the mischiefes y^t^ often happen among prevailing parties occasioned by such Interests. If you bee at any charge in conveying such Intelligence, it shalbee repayed by

Yo^r^ affeccionate Friend and Kinsman,

I was fayne to breake open the JO. JONES.

l^re^ to put in this postscript.

To Mr Morgan Lloyd.

Dearly beloved in the Lord Jesus.

It pleaseth the Lord to exercise his poore creatures under various dispensacons, and all to bring his owne glorious purposes to passe, for good to them that are called according to his purpose, Rom. 8. 28. Att this time, when the mouthes and hearts of all the S'ts are filled wth songs of deliverance, the Lord hath bene pleased to visit my poore family with sad afflicons, my deare wife being brought by sicknes to soe low a condicon, as made those about her to judge that her course was finished, but the angel of his presence was with her, bearing up her spirit in the full assurance of his eternall love, and the spiritts of the S'ts very active in their Addresses at the Throne of grace for her. In the middest of her weaknes yor l'res of the 17th of the last moneth came to our hand, wherein shee did very much rejoyce, causing them to be read over and over in the presence of such as came to visit her, and rejoycing in yor sweet Reproofes, and wishing that her heart and theirs who informed were layd open before you, to remove such hard thoughts as you might have of her. And if it became me to plead in his Justificacon comparatively (for what flesh can be justified from any one sin) I might instance many arguments to evince her indisposition to height and priority, even almost to rediculousnes in respect of or conversacon in the world, and deportments proper to particular stations, consistent wth religious observances, by such as bore that testimony to you of her, if I guesse the party aright they might have testifyed her tenderness of them, using them more like children than servants, endeavouring to cover infirmities, and not denude them. Passion is an unbridled monster, woh many a gracious soule cannot governe.

Although it hath pleased the Lord to exalt himself above

the nations in England and Scotland by casting downe the power of the Earth, and giving his S^ts^ hono^r^ to bind kings in chains, and nobles in fetters of iron, yet here wee labour under more darke appearances, our God in his wisdome permitting the enemy to grow numerous, insolent, and bould about 10 days since. They tooke the towne of Rosse, (except y^e^ church, and a house, which was fortifyed) plundered it, and made the inhabitants pay 700*l* to save it from burning, and they quitted it upon approach of some of our forces that way. They have forced severall small garrisons, they dayly waste and burne our quarters, and take the opportunity to comitt all the wickedness Sathan can invent, while the maine of our forces are ingaged in the seige of Limerick and Galloway. And all this to teach us that he is the Author of those great workes he hath done of late, whereof wee are witnesses. 2^dly^ to humble o^r^ selves under the mighty hand of God, who cann in a moment dash in pieces all the nations of the earth. 3^dly^ that wee are in his hand as the clay in the potter's hand, it is he that gives courage, and casts downe the spirits of men. 4^thly^ That if wee goe not out in the strength of our God, the ashes off o^r^ enemies ruine is sufficient to destroy us. Wee have here some few S'^ts^ who thirst after the water of Life, and long for more discoveries of o^r^ everlasting bridgroome's love, and for more enjoym^ts^ of his blessed presence, and if the Lord would open a way would much rejoyce in yo^r^ company and help, although yo^r^ stay should not be long. Here is worke for you and deare M^r^ Powell, and some more of our British Nuntios to divulge the bridgroome's message, and make knowne y^e^ mistery of that union that is betweene y^e^ bride and her head X^t^ Jesus, and what is y^e^ brightnes of the father's glory.

Wee are here much under the letter of gospel dispensacons mingled with clay—humane prudence, weaksighted,

not able to behold the native brightnes of the Sun of Righteousnes. The inclosed paper may inform you how seasonable yo$^{r}$ presence had beene w$^{th}$ us at this time, or may be yet.

What becomes of poore Merionethshire, is that countrey denied the tender of gospell mercies? Is there no prophet, noe messenger of X$^{t}$ y$^{t}$ will make Duffryn Ardidwey in his way? Where is M$^{r}$ Powell, M Lloyd, &c., that once thought it a mercy, and a high priviledge, to bee accompted worthy of being driven to the mountaynes, and desolate places, that they might have liberty to preach the Gospell there. Yo$^{r}$ office and duty is to encounter w$^{th}$ sinn and the power of the prince of the ayre, and where is there more sinne to encounter w$^{th}$ where more ignorance, where more hatred to the people of God? where the word saint more scorned? than in Merionethshire. The more the difficulty and opposition, the more is the power of the Spirit of the Lord Jesus in gospell administracons manifested and the instruments hono$^{ed}$ I dare not goe no further then Queres in this matter, not knowing where the weight of y$^{e}$ worke lies. I am now called away, my deare Love to yo$^{r}$ Wife, and y$^{e}$ rest of o$^{r}$ Xtian friends where you are.

Yo$^{r}$ unworthy brother
in the Lord Jesus,

Dublin, 9$^{d}$ 8$^{m}$ 1651. JO. JONES.

I desire to be remembred to M$^{r}$ Baker, & his wife, w$^{th}$ thanks for their kind enterteynm$^{ts}$

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To S$^{r}$ Theoph. Jones.

Deare S$^{r}$

I have seen an expression of yo$^{rs}$ in Major Cadwyan's l$^{re}$, w$^{ch}$ layd upon mee a deepe obligacon of thankfulnes

for yo$^{r}$ respects, but it carries w$^{th}$ it too great a weight for acceptacon, by one soe little meriting. Letters from Chester and Beumaris brings the most acceptable newes y$^{t}$ ever wee had of God's crowning mercies, and seasonable Deliverance, promiseing a period to our troubles: The totall overthrow of Scotts P$^{r}$tend$^{er}$ and all his Forces, not in a blow (w$^{ch}$ might be ascribed to chance by those that have noe other God to attribute to) but in a series of successes that his purpose might be seene (who disposeth of all powers) to make this the time of finishing o$^{r}$ troubles, in England and Scotland. I shall onely mencon some, Sterlin Castle, a place of impregnable strength, having in it 40 peices of ordnances, provisions for 500 men a yeare, 5000 armes, great store of powder, Claret Wine, Strong Water, &c., was in less than one day storming with gunnes and morter pieces, delivered to Leif$^{t}$ Gen$^{ll}$ Monk. E. of Derby was left in Lanc$^{re}$ to raise the countrey, and had got together 1500, was by Col. Lilbourne w$^{th}$ his horse, and some foote from Chester, in his own countrey, defeated. S$^{r}$ Thomas Tildsley, Lo$^{r}$ Witherington, Col. Ashurst, and many other persons of quality, and 500 more slayne and taken, himself wounded, escaping to his king's army, w$^{ch}$ army being lodged at Worcester, was on this day seavenight engaged by the Lord Gen$^{ll}$ and his forces, and totally routed. The foote reported all to be put to the sword, and 4 or 5000 horse, as my letter sayeth taken, the rest scattered, not then known. Darbey, and the Lord Lowtherdale w$^{th}$ a party made northward, and in Sherropshire were met w$^{th}$ and both of them taken. The citty and country did vanimously raise, and in great strength to oppose this pretender, and one of my l$^{res}$ mencons, That y$^{e}$ Lord Gen$^{ll}$ had 10000 men come to him, but dismissed above 20000 of them. The countrey sent in provisions, and fresh horses, for his army w$^{th}$out number as the letter mencons.

Mr Lowe and Mr Gibbons were both executed att Tower Hill, about 3 weekes since. Mr Scott hath desired the safe conveighance of the inclosed by your hand, and I desire you to intimate to the gentlemen from mee, that he shall find those favors and respects he so justly meritts, and may expect made good with him, so far as my interest may carry things to his advantage woh I had written to him my selfe, but that I am not knowne unto him. My humble services to yor sweete Lady.

Yor very affectionate Cousin to serve you,

Dublin, 10th Septh 1651 JO. JONES.

In this Letter was inclosed the wthin mentioned lre, and dirrected thus = for my very worthy friend Mr Terence Coglan, at Killolgan, in the Kings County, Ireland.

Letters sent into England 18° Sept. 1651.

To Watkin Kuffin to enquire of newes, and acquainte him of my wife's sickness, dat 15° Sep.

To brother Humphrey Jones of my wife's sicknes of the losse at Dublin, about Mr Lloyd, and his wife's brother, or some who brought goodes to Waterford, inclosed in Robt Coitmore, dat. 15° Sept. 1651.

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To Thomas Scott, Esq.

Deare Sr

Yors with an inclosed to Mr Terence Coghland, came to my hands about 6 days since. The inclosed I have safely conveighed to Sr Theophilus Jones, and because my name was not knowne to the Gentleman, I have written to Sr Theophilus Jones to intimate to him from me, That he shall find the favors and respects he justly merits, and may

expect made good unto him soe far as my Interest may carry things to his advantage. It is probable I shall hear shortly from him upon that account, because I find the Irish not apt to play an after game in Curteseyes, and Trustings. The mencon you made of Majo$^{r}$ Sallwey, made my heart Leape w$^{th}$ in me, he being by the printed Diurnalls rendered to bee past hope of Recovery. Blessed bee the Lord for his kindnes to him in that particular and to$^{r}$ Land and Nation in his appearances, and actings, for, and by his Servants at Worcester. The Lord give us humble, thankfull, uniting, beleeving, and, selfe-denying spirits, That wee fall not into the snares that successes have in them, to lift us up to Pride, allure us to coveteousnes, or rend us into Factions. I should thinke it now very seasonable to passe an Act of Gen$^{ll}$ Indempnity, w$^{th}$ exceptions of all Persons that banished themselves by flying beyond Seas, and all that joyned w$^{th}$ the Irish Rebells and some other notorious Persons and w$^{th}$ other Limitacons, as to bearing of Offices in the Majstracy, That kind of inquisition of Discovering Delinquents, &c., hath bene long enough on foote as to the first and second Warr, and the unanimous Risings of the Countrey to oppose the Comon Enemy, may meritt some consideracon.

Yo$^{r}$ affairs heere are in exceeding low condicon, as the Papers sent the Councell will Demonstrate, and yet those papers doe not represent them as badd as they are. If money come not to Dublin speedily or wee be impowered to charge the Treas$^{y}$ with Bills of Exchange, truely wee know not what to doe. * * * * * *
And yet I could wish, that many more forces were brought over hither commanded by honest, Religious Officers, to finish this worke effectually, and raise that Monarchiall and Cavaleerish interest, and opposition to godliness, w$^{ch}$ the greatest of the old Forces, and some of the New, are

affected w^th^ and w^ch^ some of us looke upon as more dangerous than any thing the Comon enemy can do: It is good principiis obstare: The Lord direct you in these great Affairs. Some men may be possessed w^th^ high conceits, that Ireland being conquered is little enough to reward their meritt, that have served you in that worke, or that you cutt of the heades of Dukes and Earles to have them placed on their Shoulders, I presume you will not soe much value upon what I write concerning these creatures, as to communicate it to any, w^ch^ made mee thus free in my expressions: This is the second tyme since I came to Ireland, that my wife hath bene soe neare death, as was past hopes of Recovery, and yet the Lord hath restored her, my service to yo^r^ Lady, M^r^ Rowę & his wife & Aldran Allein.

Yo^r^ reall & true Servant, as long as my name is

Dublin, 16th Sept., 1651. JO. JONES.

Letters sent by the Post, y^e^ 9^th^ of October, 1651, Dub(lin).

To Thomas Scott, Esq., the newes of Rosse, &c., to move y^e^ Parliam^t^ for Colonel Hewson, that some Irish Lands might be settled on him, to move that Aldran. Hutchinson be Sub Trer.

To Mr. Humfrey Jones my brother, my wifes sickness, &c.

To Bro. Jonathan Edw. to come over, and bring Ann or Mary Edwards w^th^ him.

To Brother Cuffin about Mr. Poore's Lands, to desire him to agree for them, the price about 1000*l*, about y^e^ L^d^ Cherburyes Estate, in Ireland, in answer to his La. L'^res^ to me.

To Capt. Taylor to impower him to sett Assaph Lands, &c., touching the troope, that the Capt. should Receive my Pay, while the Troope was abroad, and toutching other designes to disband it, &c.

To D$^{r}$ W$^{m}$ Stanc,
Deare S$^{r}$

I have received many sweet Refreshm$^{ts}$ from you, the Lord hath given you plentifully to Drinke of the waters of life, that you might refresh barren hearts, and comfort drooping and wounded spirits; shee who held your memory precious, is now upon finishing her course, and rejoycingly longs to bee dissolved, and to be w$^{th}$ X$^{t}$ being full apprehensive of the eternall love of the Father, and of the glory of the Lord Jesus, that shalbee revealed unto her, she hath kept her bed this 4 monethes, and hath bene continued w$^{th}$ us by an extraordinary measure of spirit, having for many dayes taken noe sustenance but small beer, but now the frame of her nature is dissolved, she desires to be remembred to the Lady Ireton, whom shee doeth highly hono$^{r}$ and the S$^{ts}$ at Westm$^{r}$

Dear S$^{r}$ shall Ireland noe more enjoy you. I am perswaeded that a new Representative may doe much toward the planting of Ireland w$^{th}$ very good people, what qualificacons will perswade a people sencible of their present burthens, and not of the reasons, and necessity of them to choose those persons that laid the burthens, or their adherents to bee of the next representative? What Interest in England is like to carry the universall vote? Is not that Interest, that seeing to be in a suffering condicon, and to promisse ease of burthens, and new impositions, if it were againe in power, like to have great stroke in Elecoon? Who shall jugde wheter Rules, and qualificacons appointed bee observed in Elecoons? who shalbe of that Comitte? and who shall appointe such a one? if the new Representative according to the freedome and usage of former Parliam$^{ts}$? will the lesser expell the greater number by vote? if force interpose, will they not cry out, that their freedome is invaded? If y$^{e}$ hearts of the people bee

generally for the present governm$^{t}$ and Governo$^{r}$ what need Armies, and guarrisons to be kept on foot? I had rather doe a people good though against their wills, than please them in shew onely, to the hazarding of y$^{e}$ peace, and wel being? God gave men Reason, that they should bee guided by it, in the affairs of men, where (by an unavoydable necessity), they are not warranted to expect extraordinary successe by a Devine Providence: let their be patience, used until burthens may be taken of, and the people enjoy some Rest, and opulency under y$^{e}$ new chaunge, let the old weeds that lye dead on the ground, have time to Rott, let the Comonwealth have some time to take roote in the interests of men, before it be transplanted or grafted on another stocke, lett their be some trialls made by Elecoons to vacant places, and by adjoyrnements, and then some Judgm$^{t}$ may be given.

If you have nothing else to doe answer my queres, &c., and hide my folly or weakness in propounding these things, but it is to a friend.

The Lord is pleased to begin to gather a people here at Dublin into a Church fellowshipp, the foundacons off 2 Congregacons are already laid, y$^{e}$ number of either not many, but he that soweth in this vineyard, will give y$^{e}$ encrease.

I long to see what you have to propound for Ireland, I am apt to Jugde it good before I know it; it groweth late, and I am much discomposed. The Lord reward yo$^{r}$ labour of Love to yo$^{r}$ dying friend, and to your

faithful friend, and Servant,

Dublin, 19$^{th}$ Nov., 1651.

Postscript.

Since y$^{e}$ writing of the inclosed, I have had leisure to thinke of another passage in yo$^{r}$ letter, w$^{ch}$ was concerning

Com$^{rs}$ and proposalls sent into Scotland. Verite I like the Com$^{rs}$ exceeding well, and I thinck England hath not another sett, but I like not their absence from Westm$^{r}$ where affaires of most concernm$^{t}$ are.

The proposalls are hono$^{ble}$ and honest, but I am soe short sighted that I cannot see how it will doe our worke; the men they shall treate w$^{th}$all are such as get nothing by being united to England, except loosing their heads when they Rebell: they have now more immunities, and more power over the people, then I hope the Law of England will ever admitt.

It is the interest of the Comonwealth of England to breake the Interest of the great men in Scotland, and to settle the Interest of the comon people upon a different foote from the Interests of their Lords and Masters. The late King seing the interest of the Lords there to bee then (when he attempted to invade them) against his interests, made a Proclamacon that such as were Tennants to those great men that then opposed him should hold their lands of him, paying but one moiety, as I remember, of the Rents and Duties they were bound to pay their Landlords, but they were wise enough to keepe this from the Tennants, and the issue was not tried.

What he would have done upon Injurious grounds the Parliam$^{t}$ may doe upon honest and honourable grounds; the invasion in y$^{e}$ yeare 1648, and y$^{e}$ charge of the army in seeking Reparacon (w$^{ch}$ ought to have beene given in an amiable way) amounts to a higher acc$^{t}$ than all Scotl$^{d}$ is worth. The great men will never be faithfull to you, soe long as you propound freedome to y$^{e}$ people and Reliefe ag$^{t}$ their Tiranny. The people will hardly comprend y$^{e}$ excellency of a Com: Wea: & a free people of England, they having noe money to buy lands in England, and by that freedome loosing y$^{e}$ advantage of transporting English

Wool, Leather, and other prohibited comodities into forrigne p$^{ts}$; they will not app$^{r}$hend y$^{t}$ it is for y$^{er}$ good and for the safty of y$^{t}$ countrey, y$^{t}$ they should pay great Taxes, Exc. and Customs, but make y$^{e}$ freeholds of their respective holdings upon reasonable termes, you will presntly settle a Revenue, and fix their Interest to you.

Yo$^{rs}$ in y$^{e}$ Lord Jesus,

J. J.

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To M$^{r}$ Morgan Lloyd,

19$^{th}$ Nov., 1651.

Deare Brother in the Lord Jesus,

The Lord Jesus reward you for yo$^{r}$ many sweet Refreshments and Christian consolations administered to yo$^{r}$ unworthy friends here. I believe most of yo$^{r}$ L$^{res}$ came to us; I must desire a further time to give a more particular accompt of them. At present I write w$^{th}$ a trembling heart, my dearest yokefellow being upon the point of finishing her course in this life, and ready to be gathered to the bosome of the father, to behold the glory of the Lord Jesus, her head and spouse. Yo$^{rs}$ that came by the last Packett, being 4 in number, much refreshed her spirit, and raised a conceit in her (upon yo$^{r}$ expression of dedd Lazarus) that shee should Recover, saying shee had faith enough to be healed, and pressing earnestly (when shee was not able to turne herselfe in her bedd) to be carried into Wales, to see the Saints at Wrexham, who had soe many prayers at the Trone of grace in her behalfe; but now shee perceives that her Redemption draweth nigh, wherein shee doeth much Rejoyce, earnestly desiring to be dissolved and to be w$^{th}$ X$^{t}$. Last night I was called up (having watched with her the night before), shee being growne speechles, but after a little time shee Recovered her speech.

I believe shee cannot continue 2 nights longer w$^{th}$out a speciall worke of God, the frame of her nature being quite dissolved in her. I rejoyce in the paper you sent from Merrionythshire: the Lord grant it proceeds from Renewed Spiritts, and not from carnall compliance. It is not difficult to make use of a gospell Language; but it is a Rare and a blessed thing to have soe many gospell spiritts in that countrey. There may much sincerity accompany a little faith, little knowledge and great Temptacons, w$^{ch}$ abound in that countrey. The more tender a plant is, the more often nourishm$^{t}$ must be applied. I intend (as soon as I can attaine to any leisure and composednes of spirit) to write to Cousin Robert Owens, whose heart, I am perswaeded, y$^{s}$ Right, although Discretion and Xtian prudence may be wanting. In a magistraticall cognizance it is good to be severe, that the world may know y$^{t}$ the power is ordeined for a terror to evill doers, and y$^{t}$ y$^{e}$ sword is not boorne in vayne, but in Xtian cognizance and gospell administracons, the ruling power is love; whatsoever proceeds not from love, as to y$^{e}$ persons of men, proceeds not from a gospell spiritt. I must entreat you to excuse mee because I write not to Cap$^{t}$ Taylor (and my other friends): I shall, if y$^{e}$ Lord permitt, answer his by y$^{e}$ next. I am not able to write more. Y$^{e}$ L$^{d}$ Jesus encrease his guifts and graces in you more and more, and deale unto you aboundantly out of those rich Trers of wisdome and knowledge his in him.

Yo$^{rs}$ in the L$^{d}$ Jesus,

J. J.

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M$^{r}$ Tho. Scott,

Dear and my ever hon$^{d}$ Friend,

The inclosed, from Mr. Frost, is from Mr. Coghlin Comissary Gen$^{ll}$ Reinolds, certifyes here that Clare Castle

is surrendered to Leift Genll Ludlow. The Irish are now endeavouring to have a genll meeting or councell, as they call it, at James Towne upon the Shannon northward. Itt is thought they have some express from their young King, since the defeate at Worcester, and many of them seemes to bee confident that their King hath a considerable army in the Marches of Wales, by whom a considerable overthrowe was given (as they alleadge) to the Parliamts forces in South Wales—this Reported by Dungan to Coll. Markham, who is his prisoner, and now upon his paroll, he hath desired leave to send into England to understand the condicon of affaires there, being resolved (as he sayeth) to lay downe Armes, and get beyond Seas, as soone as he is satisfyed the King's Interest is lost in England, but the Comer will not (without further advice) grant such leave, least such might be sent to negociate with forrigne agents. Lorraine is still high in their hopes and expectations, wth wch they abuse the common people, and endeavor to draw them to a generall rising, perswaeding them that the Parliamt will grant them noe termes for Religion, Lives, or Estates. Longford and severall other Baronies are lately gone out in Rebellion, but the Lord hath cast feares and terrors upon them; when they intend to Rest, apprehensions of feares and allarmes fall upon them, even when noe parties of ors are neere; they are divided into factions and jalousies among themselves; the old Irish looke upon Dungan and Sherlocke and their Adherents, as falling away from them, and all confesse themselves to bee in a desperate and lost condicon. If the Parliamt thinke fitt to hold forth any qualificacons to them, I humbly conceive it is high time they were declared. Sir, I beseech you, afford a little of yor assistance to ye affaires of Ireland, at that comittee, especially in those particulars of money menconed in or letters to ye councell, wherein the condicon of affaires here

are faithfully Represented. Trully I write these lines to you w$^{th}$ a trembling heart; my dear wife, a precious godly woeman, and a faithfull yokefellow, is now finishing her course, after 4 monethes heavy sicknes—shee cannot, without a miracle, outlive this night. In respect of her I have great cause to rejoyce, but I want a selfe-denying spirit. This will occasion, and hath drawne uppon me already, some extraordinary charge, w$^{ch}$ makes me presume to desire yo$^{r}$ favour to know whether anything hath bene thought of upon the Com$^{rs}$ letters to yo$^{r}$ selfe, S$^{r}$ Henry Vane and Major Galloway concerning o$^{r}$ Sallaries. I thought to have bene silent in this matter, but necessity of conveniency at least makes mee breake through any former Resolucons, rather than hazard an Imputacon of a base Mind: If anything bee ordered in that particular, I desire my brother Humphrey Jones (who professes much beholdingnes to you) might have an order to Receive to my use what is allotted to mee. Here is noe money to be had, and it were a sinne to take it if it were, while soe many poore sick souldiers are dayly perishing for want of competent sustennance. Pardon this my freenes w$^{th}$ you, being soe unworthy of soe many favours and respects as you have bene pleased to cast upon mee. Yo$^{rs}$ of the 4$^{th}$ of November came very seasonably to us with the newes of Man and Jersey, wee having then a convoy goeing to Connaught. If it were not presumption, I could wish that my humble services were presented to my Lord Leif$^{t}$ who sent me hither, the unworthiest and unfittest of many thousands. I wish the Lord would furnish me w$^{th}$ such a head and heart to mannage this great Trust as he hath who designed me for it. I shall noe further adde to yo$^{r}$ trouble at present.

Yo$^{r}$ faithfull and true Servant.

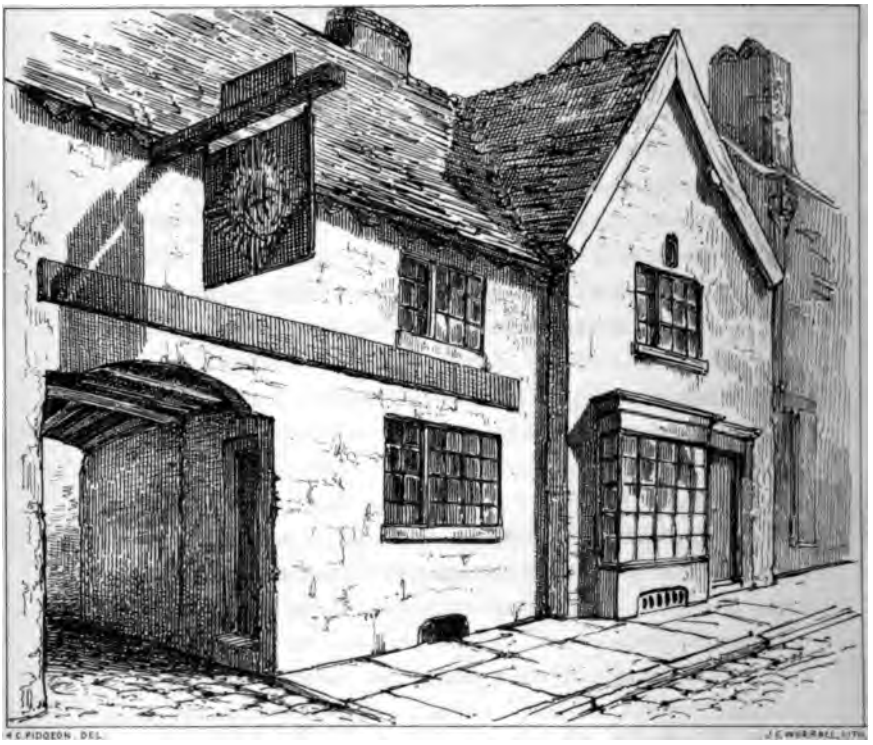
Dublin, 19$^{th}$ Nov., 1651.

To Mr Scott

Hon$^{ed}$ S$^{r}$

There hath not any opportunity of sending over from (sic) beene offered me, wherin I have not troubled you w$^{th}$ some few lines; Two of w$^{ch}$ you mencon (in yo$^{rs}$ of y$^{e}$ 11$^{th}$ of November) to have rec$^{d}$ together; but I beginne to be a little suspitious, whether I keepe within the compasse of good manners, considering how little I can contribute to the satisfaction of wise men, and yet by that litle how much I interrupte yo$^{r}$ more weighty affairs, in yo$^{r}$ retaliation, truly S$^{r}$ I rejoyce in yo$^{r}$ l'$^{res}$ but when I consider how little time you have to spare I am sorry I am an occasion of yo$^{r}$ trouble.

I hope by this time y$^{e}$ sadde newes of that blessed S$^{t}$ Ireton is in some measure digested by all his Relations, and that some Resolution is already taken for y$^{e}$ suplying of his absence in yo$^{r}$ service heer, although I can never hope to be acquainted with soe humble, patien$^{t}$ wise, religious selfedenying man, as he was; It wilbee necessary to have the pleasure of the Parliam$^{t}$ and Councell knowne heere in that matter w$^{th}$ all speede. It wilbee a means to settle some humo$^{r}$ w$^{ch}$ may beginne to stirr and swell with hopes, and expectacons, and to prevent y$^{e}$ breaking out of those animosities, w$^{ch}$ (by the wisdom of him that is gone) were silenced! but if that be delayed, ambition, crosse Interests, and diversity of Judmen$^{ts}$, will have time to take Roote, and cast therein Influences upon publiq$^{e}$ affaires, and you may be assured that such tempers there are in the Army; But y$^{e}$ Lord Leif$^{ts}$ presence (if y$^{e}$ most sadd newes of y$^{e}$ Lord Deputies death hath not too much indisposed him and the affaires in England, can admitt his absence from the house and Councell) will remove all difficulties, and give new life to those that desire to promote religious and publiq$^{e}$ Interests; I am very sensible of the condicon



THE HOUSE IN WHICH

# MAJOR GENERAL HARRISON

WAS BORN, AT

## NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYNE.

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*J Harrison*

FAC-SIMILE OF HIS HANDWRITING

ness, because Mr Erberry vouched you in a booke wee lately putt forth, yett I thanke the Lord I had not an undervaluing thought, but was able to plead yor innocence. As for the poore requests I have formerly made to yow, where of yor last mentions, I kindly thancke yor remembrance of them, though as yett the Lord hath not cleared yor waie to answere them, in his time I hope for both. Our last letters give us to believe, That not onely the Dutch but France, Denmarke, and Spaine will engage speedily against us: doe not theise things import the Lord of Hoasts about his Threshing-worke. Yett we are labouring after a peace wth the Dutch, notwithstanding a crosse-providence. Whether is most the Saints worke, to run after Christ to Sea whereon hee hath begun to sett his right foote, or to men fearing the Lord to bee putt into all places of power att home. I earnestly beseech you in yor addresses to the Allmightie and or owen Father Remember yor Fellow Member.

T. H.

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To Col[l] Cromwell,

Honored Sir,

I hope the Lord hath brought you safe to yor relations, and that he hath given you a heart never to forgett the loveing kindnes of the Lord, nor to be lifted up in your speritt in the enjoymt of mercyes as though your owne hand had acquired them for you: A meeke and an humble sperett is a Pretious frame, which the Lord will owne in that day when he maketh up his Jewells, 3 Mal: 17.

Truly Sr I have had many thoughts of that sinne of forgetting the Lord, and what he had done for us; how

dangerous it is produceing naturally the sinnes of Ingratitude and Pride, which the Lord fearfully punisheth. The Prosperous state is the slippery and dangerous state of a Christian, because then the Poore Creature is apt to have his affextions fixed upon outward enjoym$^{ts}$ and to waxe fatt, lightly esteeming of the Roott of his Salvations, and forgetting God that formed him. Deut. 32. In such a condic̄on it is good to be often looking Back from what state and into what state we are brought, before how many thousands are wee advanced by free grace, and not by any thing in ourselfes. That the higher we are advanced in the world, the more dangerous is the Pinacle wee stand upon, and this should teach us not to be high minded butt feare. If I had observed in you a high and selfish speritt I am affrayd my base heart had not beene free to use this freedome with you, my desier is to mynd you of this Rock whereon many have made shipwracke of good conscience that thorow grace you may avoyd them. I shall humbly desier you to read over these ensueing Scriptures, and I hope wilbe of use to you, to healpe and quicken your sperit to the Dutyes before mentioned. Deu. 4. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Deut. 6. 3 to y$^{e}$ 14$^{v}$ (Cor. 2. 2, 4; from y$^{e}$ 15$^{th}$ to y$^{e}$ 23. These two last demonstrate the haynousness of the sinne of ingratitude Towards God.) Isay 17$^{th}$ 10, 11. I doe not know any one History soe often cyted in Scripture, as that in the 25$^{th}$ of Numbers and in most of them mentioned as a sinne of fforgettfulnes. I hope the Lord hath endued you with a gratious temper of sperit to beare with the weakenesses of men and to accept of a cupp of cold water tendered in Love.

This instant while I was a writeing this letter came a letter to me intimating that there is an intention of putting another Cap$^{t}$ to comand my Troope; so farr as myne owne interest is concerned therein I doe most freely submitt into

it but with all I doe most ernestly desier, that it may be soe disposed of that those few p'sons in that country who have sett their hearts to seeke the Lord (and have bene hitherto counttenanced, and encouradged therein by that troope, more then by any other power. or p'sons in civill authority in that country may be protected by them, and that the officers of the troope may receive y^e^ benefitt of the remove, they being religious, faithfull, and stout, not inferior to any of their degree, I am pswaded. And therefore I conceve it a sinn to putt any unnecessary discouragem^t^ upon them, for my owne pte. If I conceived that by this removeall, I should want any parte of that intimacy, and freedome, I have had with those precious godly p'sons of the troope, it would much trouble me. But in other respects (I hope that consideration wil be had of them.) I submitt and therefore make bold humbly to begg yo^r^ favo^r^ to represent my sence in this matter to such as are to act more properly in affaires of that nature and especially to my honorred and deare friend Major Gen^ll^ Harrison unto whom I cannot possibly write at present, the packett being just now going away, w^ch^ I hope he will take in good pte, considering he hath knowne me soe long, that my age may plead something for my penn, But as yet he hath not a right to that plea for not remembering an old acquaintance in above two yeares time, however, I confesse the duty runnes retrograde in these outward expressions of Respects, and I have been fayling in mind towards him: I am confident he hath made good his promisse of often minding me and the rest that came to Ireland at the throne of grace, and y^t^ y^e^ efficacy of such prayors and wrestlings hath hithertoe preserved us. The Lord guide you by his spiritt to lay out yourselfe for him according to the opportunity he putts into your hands) in a spiritt of meekness, humility, and sobriety,

and teach you to enquire every stepp you goe, whether this be the way of the Lord and whether you are ledd by his councell to what you undertake.

Your very faithfull and reall Servant,

JO. JONES.

Dublin, 22nd January, 1852.

I have sent enclosed the
Articles of Arran.

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To Ma$^{r}$ Scott,

Hon$^{ed}$ Sir.

The Lord is pleased (by varyous providences) to afford some matter of late to communicate unto you, to teach us our strength is in him who guids the affaires and councells of men, according to his Eternal purpose and will, and that wee have noe strength or wisdom of our owne whereon wee may relye.

I shall first mention those p'ticulars wherein God is pleased to owne his weake instruments, as the delivering of Inis Buffin, and the rest of the adjacent Islands, into the Parlia$^{nt}$ possession; the articles of surrender are sent to the Parliam$^{t}$ and counsell, and may be thought suteable to the difficulty of gaining of that place by fforce.

Questionless that service was owned by God, for during all the time of that Treaty, there was soe greate a calme that our shipps Ridd in safety close to the Island all the while, which they could not possibly have done if any winde had beene stirring, as Cap$^{t}$ Clarke informs us; secondly, the delivering of several Islands in the Loughs in Ulster to our fforces, in one of which Sir Phelim O'Neale was taken, and was Isterday tryed at our high court of Justice at

Dublin, and condemned of High Treason, and within a few hours a period will be given to his high titles as being created Earle of Tyrone, by the Ultaghes, according to their Rude solemnityes, Prince of Ulster by the Pope's Commission or Bull, Gen$^{ll}$ of all the Leinster and Ulster fforces, by comission from the lords of y$^{e}$ Pale, and the Prince and Cheefe actor in the Horrid Massacres and Rebellion, by comission from the late Charles Stuart, as himselfe hath often confessed, and published in his manifest$^{as}$; all which was made good by evidence at his tryall. This course of inquisition after Blood, and doeing exemplary justice, is terrible to this nation; insoemuch that the murtherers hearts faint, and theire joynts tremble even to admiration, when they come to y$^{e}$ Barr. This cruell monster of men when he came first to the Barr was scarce able to stand for trembling, or to speak for teares. I beleefe tho some of their guilte of murthers have driven many out of late, insoemuch that the rebbles are lately growne numerous, and have beene instruments to give us some sharpe rebukes about the 6th of ffebruary, neare Rannile Castle, in Erconaught, almost over ag$^{t}$ Inis Buffin; 800 Irish fell (out of an ambush in a narrow pass) upon 270 foote, which were marching that way to meete the fforces that went by sea to reduce Buffin, and routed them, in this ingagem$^{t}$ Cap$^{t}$ Hassett, who commanded the party, and Cap$^{t}$ Weston, L$^{t}$ Lewis and L$^{t}$ Hall, and about 46 private souldiours were slayne; yet the remainder of the party rallyed, and routed the enemye, and y$^{e}$ enemy rallyed, and our party routed them the second tyme; butt being foote and strangers they could not p'sue to considerable effect. A Cap$^{t}$ of y$^{e}$ enemy and some more men were slayne, and our own armes, and the enemyes armes upon the last rout were recovered by oure men, and the next day they tooke L$^{t}$ Gen$^{ll}$ Burke in y$^{e}$ Island, which I hope will be delivered

up to justice. The Lord Muskerry is lately landed at Corke, and sayes he will cast himselfe upon the Parliam$^{ts}$ mercy, pretending that Clergie in Spaine had determined to murther him, and that Portugal would not entertayne him, of all which I beleeve, but my share, he is sent for to Dublin in Salvia Custodia.

In Kerry, and Corke, and those parts very many are gone out lately, Co$^{ll}$ O'Sillinan Beere, and Co$^{ll}$ O'Driskall, and divers others who formerly came in on Muskerry's articles are gone out, and reported to be 1500 men strong. They have taken Islands, in the Bay of Bantry (as I take it), for recovery of which place fforces are ordered both by sea and land; those Muskerry Rebbles fell upon one Cap$^{t}$ Gibbons and 40 musketteres w$^{th}$ him, killed the said Cap$^{t,}$ L$^{t}$ Boone, Ensign Booth, and 34 private men, 6 only escapeing. The enemy then lost a Cap$^{t,}$ a L$^{t,}$ and 6 men, and 27 wounded; this success made the enemy to attempt to surprise a convoy of about 90 foote, which was goeing from Dingle to fforce Needham, commanded by L$^{t}$ Lambart, w$^{th}$ provision for that Garr$^{isn}$ who being come within two myles of y$^{e}$ fort, y$^{e}$ enemy appeerd unto him, conceaved to be in number 800, and thereupon the whole party left the carriadges, threw down theere armes and ranne to Co$^{ll}$ Macffinnens howse being not farr off, except the L$^{t}$ and sixe men, who it seemes stood and were slayne; the enemy pursued them to Macffinnins house to putt them all to the sword, but Mcffinnin being not soe unhospitable or barbarous as his neighbours would have him to bee, protested that himselfe and every man with him would dye in their own defense, unless they would accept of a Ransome for the men, which being (w$^{th}$ seeming difficulty) accepted, Mcffinnin payd the money presently and sent the men home. I have been the more p'ticular in these two, because in them the Lord seems to rebuke us, and yet he does not leave us

To Major Gen[ll] Harrison.

Deare S[r]

Nott long after the Lord Deputyes departure from us there was a strong apprehention uppon y[e] speritt of one Eminent Coll. in y[e] army (who I hope is now at rest), y[t] most of the principall officers and command[rs] of the forces in Ireland were designers of some dangerous interest, and that they would promote y[e] same by theire power and commands in the army, which being made knowne to the Com[rs] of Parliam[t] they have seriously inquired into, and examined the grounds, of such an apprehention, and found it to have neither Evidence to warrant it, nor any probability of reason to support it. Butt the contrary was very evident, and cleere to the Judgmen[t] of most, if not all y[e] Com[rs] viz[t] that the Persons conceived to be those designers, are the most godly, most praying, and most self-denying men, that ever served any state in theire capacity, whereof they have not only before, butt alsoe since that time given most ample and pregnant testimony, and nevertheless it is reported here, y[t] those apprehentions of them have been transmitted into England, and there represented as truths to theire prejudice, I am persuaded y[t] theire frequent and ernest prayers to, and wrestlings with the Lord for his appearance, in, and with the Parliam[t] in the manadgm[t] of the great duty and trust y[t] lyeth upon them in the settlem[t] of the peace and tranquility, of the nations committed to theire care, and in y[e] advancem[t] of the Gospell, in y[e] Power and purity thereof hath pvayled much on theire behalfe, and I hope y[t] y[e] Lord will never suffer the Parliam[t] (whom he hath soe highly honored), in his work, even to y[e] terror and admiracon of all y[e] Nations round about you) to weaken y[e] hand or sadden the hearts of such pretious Saints, and faithful servants to theire interest, the temper of whose Speritts, in y[e] manadgm[t] of affaires here may be gathered

by the inclosed * w^ch I have sent you for that end, and have psumed (upon that old acquaintance I have had with you, and those warm expressions of your love to myself (the unworthyest of all your acquaintance), as to all those that have any appearance of the Image of Christ, and worke of grace upon theire heartes) to trouble you with these hasty lines, that (if you see cause) you may make use of them, for y^e vindicacon of the servants of Christ, in Ireland, (concerned in this nation) soe farr as you shall conceave fitting, wee are here in a longing expectacon of some persons armed with authority to Exersize the power formerly placed in the Deputy Generall to be sent over to ease those that are unskillfull in Imploym^t of such importance, and doe really and cordially desier to be eased therein. I can truly and freely say that although I account it the greatest earthly favor attaynable by me to be thought worthy by the Parliam^t to be Imployed in theire service (wherein I hope through grace to be found faithful), yett I cannot take much comfort in any Imploym^t for which I am not fittly Qualified; and I believe the rest of my fellow Com^rs are of the same minde, I beseech y^e Lord Jehova to guide you in your walkings before him to manifest unto you more and more of his Eternall love, and free grace in Christ, to fill your heart with a Speritt of Humility, and the feare of his greate name, and to purg you of all rising thoughts or desier of greate things in the world, w^ch I finde to be close and dangerous snares, attending high Imploym^ts. I shall add noe further to your trouble at present, butt to assure you both with heart and hand that I am, &c.,

JO. JONES.

Cork, June 21st, 1652.

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* No Copy is inserted.

To Mr Morgan Lloyd.

Most Deare and beloved in ye Lord,

Yours of ye 21st of ye 5th came to my hand this day, I have not time to make knowne our wants unto you in this poore Ireland, the Irish bloody party in all places subdued, except a few in the North who keepe in woods, boggs, and mountaynes, inaccessable with an army, wch will require time to subdue them by planting Garrisons upon them to starve them, and yet God is pleased to hould forth some tokens of his displeasure, the sickness rages in Galloway and is spread over all that province. It fearfully brake out at Cashell, a few days since the people being taken suddenly with madness, whereof they dye instantly, 20 dyed in that manner in three days in that little towne. The sickness is in Dublin and countrey about, but not soe violent as in other places, but few escape that have it, Mr. Richardson, our auditor, sometimes a member of Allhallowes Ch. came home with us on Munday night, and the next day his wife, his maid, and two of his children were visited, Poore Colonell Barrow continues still in ye hands of cruell bloody men, who will not release him under 2000*l* ransome, or pardon to them for their murders, I desire in ye behalfe of ye servants of God here that our ffellow members with you doe earnestly seeke the Lord on our behalfes, that his mind may be revealed unto us in these his reproofs, and that the Lord may deliver such of his servants as are now cast unto ye furnace of afliccon. It is good at all times, (but especially when the Lord appeares terrible to ye children of men by his judgmts) to be striving and wrestling with the Lord for a spirit of prayer, of humility, of love, and of ye feare of ye Lord wch proceedeth from love. It is good then to be dwelling with him in the coole under the mulberry trees, in and under his ordinance, not in speculations, or unwarrantable empty

notions, soaring soe high, that the wings of holy zeale are ———, Gospell ordinances and administracons, accounted contemptible, and carnall, and esteemed yokes, not priviledges, from whence must follow a fearfull and a hideous falling downe into the sea of perdition, these things I mencon, because some such wee have in Ireland, Lt. Col. Bowen is gone soe farr in that way, that he is become a professed Atheist, and is shortly to come to his trial for y^e^ same, there be some others of that way towards Corke, the Lord helpe us to watch over our spiritts, and to disserne this spirit of Delusion, this Dragons Tayle, that strikes soe many professors out of y^e^ Church, whose fall shakes, and darkens heaven, makes poore weake saints stagger, I have not time to enlarge, nor to write to my boy, nor other friends at present, I desire you to remember me to them. The Lord give you much comfort of your little one,

Your assured friend in Christ,

JO. JONES.

I am not sorry for y^e^ Welch Peticon, the more the Saints are tryed, the more their luster will appeare, it is good to observe what hands promote it, who they be that subscribe it, and to take exact notice what temper they are of, and what kind of ministry they are and would promote.

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To Maio^r^ Sallway.

I have aduentured once more to convey unto you a cast of Hawkes by the Bearer (being a ffalken and a Tassell), if they come not to y^r^ hands in good condicon, I desire he may not Receave any incouradgm^t^ by yo^r^ bounty towards him. As to the hopefullness of theire being as serviceable as usually creatures of theire kind are, I must wholely depend

upon my good friend y$^{t}$ helpes mee toe them, not haveing any judgment to decerne the goodness of them: The Lord keepe your Speritt constantly upon the wing y$^{t}$ the marrow and substance of your delight may be above any Earthly creatures or comforts, and that those greate Endowments which God hath qualifyed you with to decerne of things beyond the ordinary Pitch of men, may not be like your high flown Hawkes, who although they be carryed up farr above the Earth, yet they have theire backes towards heaven, and theire Eyes are fixed upon the Earth.

Your most affectionat frind and very reall servant,

J. JONES.

Drogedah August 19th 1652.

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To M$^{r}$ Morgan Lloyd.

Most deare and beloved in Christ,

It is a most blessed thing to have a close comunion with our God, in the motions and workings of that love which the eternall Speritt of love and life begetts in the heart, those are the Rivers of living waters, which flow from the humble and meek speritts of a Saint to refresh barren and dry hearts and to quicken dead, dull, and slow speritts. These flowings from your heart to your penn hath through grace conveyed much Refresm$^{t}$ and comfort to your friends here in Ireland that dwell in the midst of snares, and being called to spend theire whole tyme in earthly and carnall Imploym$^{ts}$, have theire Speritts much deadened, and cooled in the things of Heaven, and affaires of the Soull. If a stone or piece of Earth were placed in the braine and at the heart, how could and heavy would the Speritt be, even such are the affaires of the world (although honest

and necessary.) And therefore happy are they that are least incumbred with them; my brother Harry being now more than formerly Engaged in those affaires (having the Governem$^{t}$ of Dublin cast uppon him in Co$^{ll}$ Hewsons absence), is more then ordinarily sensible of this, although God hath given him a strong lively Speritt in the wayes and workes of Christ. The Lord is pleased to continue the Rodd of his anger upon this Land some off his owne people in Dublin are in the furnace, and some taken away. I pray you sett our X̄ian frends with you upon seeking the Lord Earnestly and frequently for us, and Likewise for themselfes and all the saints of God least his anger burn against our couldnes and inactivity. Great actions are abroad, wherein the hono$^{d}$ of God are greatly concerned, who knoweth whether the faith, prayers and graces of the Saints are given for such a tyme as this butt if they stand not in y$^{e}$ gapp they will not be approved when deliverance cometh. Your Generalls torment me by putting me into a longing to know particulars, what are the things that are printed against the Saints at Wrexham, unto whom (I hope) the Lord hath given a Speritt of Sobriety, as well as X̄ian zeale not to affect empty vaine speculations which hath deceaved many into a contempt of the Ordinances of Christ, and his written word, and at length (like him that beleved himselfe to be that great Starr which he looked upon and pointed at) beleeve that themselfes are God and Christ, that noe Act of theires is sinfull, that Cheques of Conscience against the Committall of any Act be it ever soe sinfull or monstrous, proceeds from the want of that Perfection which they have acquired, and professedly Act in as the enjoym$^{t}$ of that liberty, and Priveledg which the Perfection entitles them unto. Truly many of those we have heard off, and some of them we met with in Ireland, and I believe that the knowledg and report of

these things have bredd Jelouses in many well meaning people that what to them seemes new (although an Evangelical truth) proceeds from a Speritt of a Delusion, the Lord keepe us close in the sure word of truth in our walkeings that the ordinances of Christ which are as soe many Spirituall Buoys, to Direct us in the right Channell, may not be esteemed nugatory and of noe force nor advance above theire due Latitude, as the Papists doe I would have binne glade to have seene what is in printe questionless it may be guessed from what Speritt, and from what hand it proceeded, lett Patience worke and you shall see that shame will be the reward of the Authors and promoters of these lyes. The Lord reward your great love and kindness to my boy and give strength to (my deare friend) your wife: I thanke you for your freedome with mee as to Marriage, I desire to know from whom and of whom the report you mention came, and for your satisfaccon I doe really profess unto you that since the departure of my deare wife (of most pretious memory) I have not seene nor do I know, nor can thinke of that woeman on whom I have Pitched my thoughts to be in that Relation to mee, and if all the world were sett before mee to make my choice off, my thoughts doe not yett lead mee to any one numerically, my minde as yett suites not with the ofspring of this climate. If I were in my native country, and could meete with one endued with soe much grace, meekness, humility, love, comelines, and wisdome as she had who is removed from mee, and one that in the course of nature might promisse children, and would love my boy as her owne, and be content he should be the Elder Brother, I should blesse God for such an acquaintance. I wish M$^{r}$ Powell would leave his disputeing and that he and you would come over for Ireland for some time. Many Gratious hearts and heades here conceave that disputes produce neither grace nor

knowledg but administers and ingenders striffes: pray remember my deare love to M$^{r}$ Powell and M$^{r}$ Mostin when you write, and to all our friends.

Your very affectionate frind in the Dearest obligaton,

JO. JONES.

Drogedah August 23rd 1652.

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Major Gen$^{l}$ Thomas Harrison to Col$^{l}$ John Jones.

Deare Brother,

I thank yow for yo$^{r}$ last, so full of sweetnes & light, though complayning of ignorance. I shall now trouble you w$^{th}$ little, save the desire of Manie Bretheren, (sent as messengers from divers Churches) whereof I have formerly made mention, that yo$^{r}$selfe would come to Towne with all convenient speed, and (if itt may bee) by the appointm$^{t}$ of yo$^{r}$ Congregation, and one or Two w$^{th}$ you, to consult w$^{th}$ the Bretheren here of the propagating of o$^{r}$ Lord's Gospell and Kingdome, and love amongst all Saints, because some here laie weight upon yo$^{r}$ sending. Though here bee a very greete ebb to carnall sense, yett Manie pretious Ones think itts a time of much Mercie; and that o$^{r}$ blessed Lord will shortly worke w$^{th}$ eminence. I have much very much to acquaint you with, but purposely forbeare in expectation to enjoy you the next week. Thowe methinks, we have scarce lived a time more requiring concurrence of the Lord's people, nor yeelding greater encoragement to laie heads and heartes and more tthan all together for him that hath so sweetly loved and dearly bought us; wherefore I beseech you laie this to heart, hasten to us in the feare of the Lord, and thinke there maie bee Somewhat extraordinary, that you, Powell, Jenkin, Jones, and Craddock, w$^{th}$

some Bretheren w^th^ you (however yo^r^selfs y^e^ messengers from the Churches) are soe this juncturre. The Lord guide you herein and all things.

Yo^rs^ yo^rs^ T. H.

Whitehall, 7^th^ of the 9^th^ m. 52.

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9^th^ Daie 9^th^ m. 1652.

Major Gen^l^ Thomas Harrison to Col^l^ John Jones.

Pretious Brother.

Yo^rs^ of very much price came wellcomely to my hands the last weeke, for w^ch^ I retorne you very manie thanks. I have little more presently to saie to you, because I am att a Com^ttee^ where I want opportunitie. Mr. Frake told mee last night, that nexte weeke he will give yo^rs^ a retorne, and then Ile speake a little larger if the Lords will. Richard Creed having now compaired my bookes and receipts, also an accompt from the Gouvernor of Carlisle, I understand I am yo^r^ debtor (though 10000 times more then heele expresse to you) for yo^r^ troope, w^ch^ I will thither transmitt to yo^r^ selfe, or paie here if youle but hint to him. *Let me have a word from you upon receipt hereof,* and how it faires w^th^ you and yo^r^ familie because one hinted yo^r^ selfe or some of yo^rs^ were not very well.

I am,

Yo^r^ much endeared Brother and servant in o^r^ Lord,

T. H.

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( ? To Mr. Morgan Lloyd.)

Deare friend,

I have written to you and to my friends at London, but have not heard from any on yo^r^ side these many days. The greate stormes which continued heere these 3 weekes past, and my immoderate desire to see my boy which may

have occasioned his shareing in those stormes hath bred some perplexity in my mind, and hath discov$^{red}$ my very much want and weaknesse of faith. Nid oes na mwng na rhawn i'r dwfr ond fe rill Christ y gwynt a therfysg y môr a Gwneuthyr i 'n aulodau rodio ar y tonnau fel pet-faur ar dir sych, ac un or rheini yw fy machgen innan, ag am hynny mae ei fywyd ef mewn llaw gadarn ffyddlon ddifeth; others are not soe fearfull of the waters as I am, Coll$^{l}$ Sankey not being assured of the faith of his parents to make his infant washing effectuall, nor haveing the verety of that conveyed unto him but by tradition, which he conceieved not to be a firme foundacon for him to depend upon, in point of obedience in spiritual things, fell againe into the water 2 dayes since, and was taken up by Mr. Patience. Lett every man doe as he is persuaded in his owne heart, but let noe man despise his brother that hath not attained to his light, or withdraw his communion with him, because he submitts not his judgm$^{t}$ to him, the comunion and fellowship of saints in the ordinances of X$^{t}$ is one of the most principall parts of the S$^{ts}$ privilidges and enjoyment in the fflesh, and the greatest Tirany that can be exercised upon any member of X$^{t}$ is to debar him from those Privilidges and enjoym$^{ts}$ upon the acc$^{t}$ of being different in judgm$^{t}$ or upon any account for which our heavenly father will not keepe him out of heaven, and y$^{t}$ in y$^{e}$ prejudice I have ag$^{t}$ these men who otherwise are very precious praying people. I did not intend to have bene thus long when I began. The bearers hast (for feare of loosing his passage) not admitting me to consider what I want. If my boy be with you convey y$^{e}$ blessing of a father unto him, and desire him to write to me. I desire my affeccons may be p'sented to all y$^{e}$ sons and daughters of Sion with you.

Yo$^{rs}$ most affecconably,

Dublin, 15th Sept., 1652. JO. JONES.

Major Gen[l] Harrison to Col[l] Jones.

Deare Sir, 27[th] d. 9[th] m. 52.

I praie yo[r] pardon for my last, which was in much love, and soe exceeding hast (att a Com[ttee] of Parliament where good Mr. Brooke was desired to be outed because he would not baptize, bury dead, and accept wicked persons to breake bread) that I could scarce tell w[t] I wrote, and had not time to conclude itt.

I have now inclosed Mr. Frakes to you, w[ch] should have come sooner, but hee told mee hee had beene disappointed. I hope the Lord will make yo[r] communion and intercourse usefull, and that prove I shall have cause to blesse him, in being a hand betweene you. I entreated his unsealed, for the favo[r] and helpe of perusing.

Wee are in daily expectation of engagement with the Dutch, Blake yesterday certefying us that some of his men had discovered 80[tie] saile a making upp towards him. That in the evening from a steeple w[ch] hath advantage for itt, was desirned 300 [vessels.] They are merchantmen in generall, and the rest are theire convoy, but hope the Lord will cause them to enforce us, or ours enforce them to fight. Manie of the Lord's deare servants long for engagem[t] care not for the inequalitie to [numbers] knowing the cause engaged, and who is for us. A sweet spiritt of praier begins to issue forth, and some hope will never againe decline. If you are not free to see London this winter without a very speciall call, where I thinke you might bee very serviceable, yet put yo[r]selfe into some readiness for itt. Itts probable yo[r] troope maie bee called hither to doe dutie for 3 or 4 monethes, and then I hope you maie see an opportunitie of coming with them. My endeared respects to all yo[rs] and Christ's,

Whose I desire to remain approvedly,

T. H.

Major Gen[l] Harrison to Col[l] Jones.

Deare bro.

According to w[t] I hinted (as I remember) in my last, after wee had spent yesterday 4 or 5 howers in prayer (wherein indeed we found a sweet p[r]sence of y[e] Lord) y[e] Elders came together, having many of them (as I have good reason to judge) their harts full of propositions according to God, wherein the Churches might be serviceable to the fullest propagation of y[e] Gospell, but y[e] consideration thereof was putt off till one day more might be spent in solume seeking unto God for the pouringe forthe of his Spirit, whereby wee may certainely know o[r] duty and bee fully enabled to it. And by comon consent the 5[th] day of y[e] next weeke, at Alhallowes, y[e] Churches of S[ts] are to attend upon y[e] Lord of y[e] Harvest in this great thing, and truly I hope wee shall come as one man w[th] hearts engaged to approach unto him. And this I write not onely y[t] you may have fare understanding of o[r] affairs, but chiefly that you may gett together on y[e] same day the people of God in yo[r] quarters to joine w[th] us in putting up this great request. There are thoughts of having up my whole Regim[t] and consequently yo[r] troop up to the guards here. Itt may bee you may see a cleere call to come w[th] them, and give the Churches here a visitt. Wee hope if you come it will be in the fullnesse of y[e] Gospell, upon w[ch] accompt you cannot but bee welcome to the spiritual S[ts] and to mee (tho unworthy to be reckoned amongst them) you will be upon all accompts most deerly welcome, who am

Yo[r] brother in o[r] deere Lord,

9 m. 30 d. 1652. T. H.

To Col$^{l}$ Philip Jones, one of y$^{e}$ Counell,

Deare ffreind,

Thy Brother gives me a cordiall acco$^{t}$ of your retaining mee in your memory. I blesse the Lord that any who feare him have mee in the least measure in their thoughts for good unto mee. Your greate and hon$^{ble}$ Imploym$^{t}$ doth necessarily free you from those intercourses which your friends at other times might expect as a favour from you, yet themselves are more obliged then formerly to comunicate unto you what the Lord shall putt upon their spirits for y$^{e}$ strengthening you in your performance of that high trust comitted to you, upon which account I take this boldnesse to trouble you at this tyme, not intending to putt you to the trouble of a returne unless you finde goode leizure for it. The suddennesse of the late change, with the occasion and somewhat of the formality of it, doth amuse many precious S$^{ts}$ in this Lande, and it cannot be rationally expected that there should be soe sudden and cleare an aprobation in it in those that feare the Lord, as there were in them y$^{t}$ were p'sent upon the place, and know the grounds and Reasons of this alteracon. ffor my owne p$^{t}$ I am very willing to act under this Goverment those trusts that the Lord hath or shall lay upon mee, for the good and service of my country, soe long as the authority (under w$^{oh}$ I am) judge mee any way serviceable; and when I shall be thought an uselesse Instrum$^{t}$ I hope I shall willingly acquiesse and rejoyce in a private course of life, and that the Lord will bring my gray head in peace to my grave, and I hope most of them that serve the Comonwealth in Ireland have the same freedom of spirit in them.

If the Governm$^{t}$ be soe Established as may produce the fruits of Righteousness, peace and love to the S$^{ts}$ I am not solicitous what forme or shape it hath, "when the righteous

"are in authority the people rejoice, but when y^e^ wicked "beareth Rule the people mourne." Prov. 29, 2 verse. Have a care that you (that greate burthen of y^e^ governm^t^ of 3 Nacons and preserveing the Interest of all the S^ts^ in the world is fallen) aprove yo^r^selves Righteous on the acc^t^ of Christ and that you prove not a burthensome stone and a rock of offence to his people, least he breake you with a Rodd of Iron and dash you in pieces like a potter's vessel. You are now lead unto a masterpiece of Sathan's Temptations, and are sett upon a high pinacle, where you may see all Nacons, peoples and contries bowing to you and prostituteing their riches, Splendour and all other carnall and worldly hono^r^ and contentm^t^ if you will but fall downe and worship their Prince. You have neede, therefore, to guird your lynes with the strenght of Christ, and engage all his people to wrastle manfully for you at the throne of Grace, that you may be strenghtened in the power of temptation and delivered from y^e^ snare y^t^ is spread before you, remember that your life here is but a moment of tyme and anon you must give an acco^t^ whatsoever you have done in the flesh, and the first Question will be how you have delt with the S^ts^ of the most High when you were in your power? One glance from the face and countenance of Christ on a poore soule in the hower of our change, is worth all the welth pomp and hono^r^ of the world. Wee are here listening very narrowly what kinde of persons you call to yo^r^ Councell and in other Imploym^ts^ of Hono^r^ and trust, and what kinde of Court you are setting up, whether wee are like to have a Councell and Court of sober zealous Christians (as wee hope, many of them whose name wee have seene in print are) or whether you alloy them with a mixture of persons carnall and persecuting spirits, and according to w^t^ you doe in these thinges the people of God will judge how the temper of your spirits

and y^e^ fruite of yo^r^ government is like to prove. The Lord hath not given mee the tonge of the wise, nor the pen of the learned to administer advice, my aime is to minde you of these thinges, as one who really and unfeignedly wisheth your welfare. It were presumcon in mee to desire to be p'sented to him that is in Cheife Authority and is indeed in the front of danger, and sett up as a Butt for envy and malice to shoote at, but truly he is remembred in my prayers with a trembling heart for him. The Lord preserve him in an humble, meeke and patient frame of Spirit, zealous for Christ and cause and people. If you send mee one lyne to reprove mee for being thus troublesome to you I shall esteeme it a favour to

Your antient faithfull friend (though I cannot say most humble) servant,

Dublin, 13^th^ January, 1653. J. JONES.

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To M^r^ Humphrey Jones,

Deare Brother,

I have by my last given you an acc^t^ of my intencons touching my interest in the Lordshippe of Bromfield and Yale, that I am not willing to part with it upon the Tearmes propounded by those Gentlemen that would purchase it. I cannot, indeed, see how my couzen Vaughan and you that are intrusted in that purchase can convey over the interst of any man conserned therein whose debentures are delivered up in satisfacion of y^t^ purchase without their consent in writing under their hands and seales, you being only intrusted to take y^e^ Estate for their use and not to convey it away. If any of those whose Debentures are in that purchase, have conveyed their Interest therein to those

gentleman, they may enjoy soe much Interest in the Lordships as belongs to such persons without necessitating you to prejudice that trust reposed in you by the rest. I desire to know who those p'sons are that have an Interest therein, and how much each man's interest is that I may know how farr I may provide to take in yo$^{r}$ Interest upon better tearmes, for them then what is offered, or be otherwise more serviceable unto them. I presume Coll$^{l}$ Mason and Majo$^{r}$ Elliot may have some Debent$^{rs}$ in that purchase, and if soe, they are willing to put the Interest they have therein into my hands and I presume that there are others of them that will be willing to doe the like. I am not much in love with such interest as holds up any burthensome power over the people and therefore would willingly part with all the interests I have of that nature. But the way now proposed in this perticular tends not to ease the people of such burthens, but rather to continue it upon them by putting it into such hands. But my aime is to improve my owne and that interest of those other concerned w$^{th}$ mee to the gaining of what is really due unto us and thereby to make the people free when they have given due satisfac-con for what doth issue out of their respective Estates unto us, and for y$^{e}$ end I doe propose to myself that by the consent of all those that have their Debentures in y$^{t}$ purchase, or by buying in their interests to impower Com$^{rs}$ to treate with the respective Tenants of y$^{e}$ Lo$^{pps}$ for the acquitting of those Rents and the emolum$^{ts}$ due from them upon reasonable Tearmes and thereby reemburse ourselves, and if wee must abate of the price I had rather do it to y$^{e}$ respective Tenants then to any other that are soe earnest to interlope other men's interest for lucar or setting up of a power in their hands over the people who may expect but little ease from such Instrumen$^{ts}$. As touching the negociation you mencon, I am yet free either to continue

or breake it of as the Lord shall incline the hearts of such as are concerned therein, but I doe not yet see how that matter can be brought to a speedy and comfortable period by reason of my fixedness in this Country and the improbability of consumating it w$^{th}$out my presence and therefore I am silent in y$^{t}$ matter, expecting an answer of a letter I lately sent into South Wales, being unfree to bee obliged by previous condicons in a matter of y$^{t}$ nature, looking upon myselfe under higher obligacons in y$^{t}$ thinge then those y$^{t}$ are accustomed to be made amongst men upon the like occasion. I pray remember me to M$^{r}$ Courtney and Cap$^{t}$ Price, from whom I have not herd of late, and have not any thinge to comunicate unto them but what I have written in my last to M$^{r}$ Courtney. Present my kinde Love to my Sister. In haste I remayne,

Yo$^{r}$ very affecconate Brother,

JO. JONES.

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To Coll$^{l}$ Marke Travo$^{r}$

Worthy S$^{r}$

I am informed that there is a Tenem$^{t}$ in the Township of Brinkinnalt neare unto y$^{e}$ Dee River, which yo$^{r}$ father S$^{r}$ Edward Trevo$^{r}$ bought of one Winter and that yo$^{r}$ father afterwards mortgaged the same for 400*l.* with power of redempcon at a day long since past and y$^{t}$ yo$^{r}$ father by his will did bequeath his interest and power of redemcon of the said Tenem$^{t}$ unto you, I am further informed that the said Tenem$^{t}$ is worth but 30*l.* ꝑ annu$^{m}$ and y$^{t}$ (by reason of diverse yeares arreares of Interest upon the said mortgage, before the mortagagee tooke possession thereof) the redempcon of the said Tenem$^{t}$ will amount to above 500*l.* My desire is (if you judge my request may not be

prejudicial to you) that you would convey unto mee or unto such person as I shall appoint your interest in, andpower of redemption of the said Tenemt upon such tearmes as yourselfe or any other indifferent man shall judge Reasonable, any man may perceive by what I have here set downe can not be worth much in these tymes. Yet I conceive it fitt that you should propound yor owne satisfaccon. I desire the favour from you to lett me receive yor resolucon in this perticular with all convenient speede, because some affaires of myne doe something depend upon what you shall please to doe in this. I have noe farther to trouble you at present, but rest

Your assured friend and servant,

Dublin ye 28th ffebruary 1653. JO. JONES.

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To Coll Philip Jones.

Honord ffriend,

I humbly and heartily thanke you for yor kinde letter and wholesome advice therein.

Haveing all this while waited for some signification of the pleasure of them that are in authority with you, touching ye late greate change in Governmt and heareing not one syllable thereof, tending to require or direct such as serve you here, what to doe thereupon, wee have at last caused the inclosed paper to be publised, which was very solemly done this day, being the 1st of ffebruary. You doe very truely observe that there was some hesitation upon the spirits of some Godly people heere, touching the late alteration; but those doubts were by many dayes seekeing of Councell from ye Lord (I hope) well settled. I presume you will not account them the worst freinds to yor Governmt

who are tender in enquireing after the minde of God in every publique turne of Providence, and are not easily given to aprove of every change, upon an implicit faith of the integrity, zeale and wisdome of those that make such a change, and that being settled in their judgm$^{ts}$ to aprove or acquieace in the resolutions of those that are in power. You will value them as farr more precious Instrum$^{ts}$ to serve their generation then those that jump with you into the worke upon personall accompt (if any such there be), and whereas you seeme to apprehend that some of my good freinds and yo$^{rs}$ might missrepresent things heere, I must needs take leave soe farr to justifye them as to let you knowe, that since the late alteration I have not received one letter from any of them who seemed in the late Assembly expressing anythinge of their dissatisfaccon in that greate Act, thereby to justifye themselves, and those others of that Assembly which were of our Judgm$^{t}$ ; although I doe knowe that it is naturall for dissatisfacon to rest upon the dissenting party. If justice and Righteousnesse flowe as streames from y$^{r}$ Governm$^{t}$ all that feare the Lord will rejoice in it. If not, it is not the splendo$^{r}$, greatnesse or forme of Governm$^{t}$ that will preserve it from ruine; ffor my owne part I have a large measure of faith to believe that the advanceing of Righteousnesse and holynesse in these Nations is yo$^{r}$ Ayme and Scope. I have many things to write unto you concerning y$^{e}$ Affaires of this Land, if I conceived it proper to trouble you with them. If you doe not forthwith settle a Comittee with you, to carry on y$^{e}$ affaires of Ireland, you will find those affaires in greate disorder shortly. I shall not further trouble you at this tyme, but rest

Yo$^{r}$ affecconat freind and humble servant

Dublin, y$^{e}$ 1$^{st}$ ffeb., 1653. JO. JONES.

Major Gen$^{l}$ Harrison to Col$^{l}$ Jones.

Deare Brother.

Though in few words, I must thank you for yo$^{r}$ last, as manie former lines I have received full of gravitie and grace. I was bold to read itt in open Councell, and the Generall came to mee to know from whom it came; it was strengthening to divers. Being resolved to have in power, men of truith, fearing and loving our Lord, his people and Interest; the difficultie is to gett such: *whether my Lord onelie* shall call them, or the Saints should choose them; very much sweetly said both waies.

What are yo$^{r}$ thoughts still of the Dutch? Some very deare to the Lord, inclining much to o$^{r}$ seeking after peace from Heb. 12, 14., Rom. 12, 18., James 3, 17. Conceiving itt would honno$^{r}$ that greate Profession we make of Christ, and very much of that kind; as also in refference to the Nations advantage w$^{th}$ very much simplicitie. Others humbly thinking Christ hath taken to himselfe his own power, begun to breake here who will not bow, and is going on; whilst they are not free to owne his Dispensations, neither shall wee owne them, not because they are o$^{r}$ Enemies, but o$^{r}$ Lords. I have heard of some failing of Captaine Price; I hint itt that you maie not trust too farre. Praie much for us, and that o$^{r}$ worke maie be accepted of the Lord and his people; if wee displease not there wee care not, though wee wish to doe good to and refresh all. My endeared love to yo$^{r}$ selfe and all Saints.

Yo$^{rs}$ T. H.

30$^{th}$ daie, 2$^{d}$ month, 53.

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Major Gen$^{l}$ Harrison to Col$^{l}$ Jones.

My dearely beloved and honourable in the Lord,

Yo$^{r}$ letter of the 13$^{th}$ instant w$^{th}$ the inclosed to my Lord Gen$^{ll}$ and seasonable warning words came safe to my hands

yesterdaie. The last having read in Councell, I sent to be printed for the use of all in, or that maie come into power; that soe directed I delivered to the Gen$^{ll's}$ hands, hoping some use wilbee made thereof also, though I repent my not taking a coppie.

I presume Brother Powell acquainted you o$^{r}$ thoughts as to the persons most in them, to serve on behalfe the Saints in North Wales; that wee propound three for North, three for South Wales. Hugh Courtney, John Browne, Richard Price, out of yo$^{r}$ parts; wherein I wish the helpe of yo$^{r}$ selfe and others if wee have erred in the men, or to confirme us therin if approved by the most spirituall, or that you would send upp two or three names of the most polished, in case there bee cause of anie addition or alteration, though itt were by lott.

Yo$^{r}$ lines are very acceptable here to manie, full of councell and encouragem$^{t}$ as oft therefore as the Lord minds you of us send a word. Wee are waiting on the Lord of Hoasts for his returne from sea, a thorough stroak there might bee very teaching and confirming of his poore servants; then perhaps for France, Bourdeux having sent agents to crave aid against theire King. The Lord give us heartes suitable to the time and workes done. My deare love and service to you and yo$^{rs}$.

T. H.

Whitehall, 17$^{th}$ 3 m., 53.

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To Mr. Humphrey Jones.

Good Brother,

I have not had any letters from you these two last posts. If I had but a word how you and yo$^{r}$ family doe by every post it would be sufficient.

The inclosed is from Coll$^{l}$ Mason to Mr. Courtney. It is

desired that you should deliver it with yo^r owne hand, because there is inclosed a letter to Colonell Twisleton to pay you £1000, with thirty pounds interest, which Twisleton owes Mason, upon a bond which Mr. Courtney hath in his custody, to deliver up upon paym^t of the money. Coll^l Mason hath a desire that the money might be in his owne disposall, and apprehensive of the slipperyness of such a single security for soe greate a sume in case of mortality or other alteration.

I have written to you by y^e Lord Henry Cromwell that I moved him to become purchaser of y^e Lo^pp of Bromfield and Yale, which he tooke in very good p^t and perceive he hath a very good minde to y^e purchase. I believe he is gone in his returne to Wrexham to see the countrey. I acquainted him that I conceived he might buy the Lo^pp from y^e Sould^rs whose Debentures are in the purchase for about 7s. in the pound, and for my owne interest I would leave it to himselfe to give mee satisfaccon for it in which way he please, and have likewise acquainted him that I have an other Debenture with the true state thereof, and he seemed to be very desirous to be serviceable unto me in y^t perticular. If I might have satisfaccon for both my Debentures in the Lands I now hold from the Comonwealth as Tenant of the State and other, tho' the most congruous lands, to those lands in the counties of Dublin and Kildare or one of them, att double the Rates in the Act for Sould^rs and adventurers, I should be very well satisfyed with it, and thereby the satisfying of my Interest in Bromfield and Yale in ready money would be avoided. The lands I now hold as Tenant to y^e State, are y^e Townshipps and lands of Newcastle, Coleman's Towne, Ashgoe, Rathoredan, Greenoge Loughtowne, Ballinakelly, and some other small parcells mixed with these, all of them being small Tenem^ts and not one gentleman's house, or farme house,

orchard or garden, standing upon them, but were wholy wast when I tooke them, haveing not within three myles of them neither wood, turfe, nor any other fuell, nor a River, saveing one little Brooke, soe small that I thinke a Trowt cannot live in it, neither is there any mill there to turne, soe that if I had it I conceive noe man would envy mee for it. These lands stand upon the moares of the county of Kildare, and the next adjoyning lands on to mee in Kildare is the Towne and lands of Castle Lyons, a poore place inhabited by Irish, and part of it intermixed with the lands in my possession. I am the more pticular in this matter that in case you finde any inclination to have any kinde of this nature done for my satisfaccon, you may be furnished with soe many perticulars and certaintyes as I can at present give to direct the drawing of such an Act or order for mee from his Highness and his Councell, as shall be advised by Councell. It may be I shall have further occasion to trouble you in this matter by the next. I cannot see any possibility to avoid it, but that the Lo$^{pp}$ is purchased with our Debentures which are delivered in, cancelled, and that none else can have any clayme in it, for now we have noe security but our purchase, and the rest have their Debentures in their hands, which they may make sayle of or take satisfaccon for, and I cannot prevent it. Suppose that in this £2000, only £600 should be accounted and allowed unto mee upon the purchase, how should I be secured y$^{e}$ rest, my Debenture is cancelled; and if it be said that I shall have a share in their Debentures which are comprehended in the letter of attorney, are not many of them sold away? And what proportion should I have out of every man's Debenture, and how shall those proporcons be secured unto mee? seeing I must not have their Debentures in my owne keeping, and how many besides myselfe must have the like share out of every man's Debenture. The fancy

of intituling all the Brigade to y^e^ purchase made with our Debentures hath neither reason, nor possibility of practice in it, without apparent loss and confusion. It may be wee might have the favour of haveing our money upon the Exise paid in intirely, if you have not made sayle thereof already. I am now in hast. My service to my sister.

Yo^r^ loving Brother,

Dublin, y^e^ 24° March, 1653. JO. JONES.

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To Cozen Ellis Hughes.

Deare Cousen.

I have received divers letters from you, whereby I find your sincere affecion towards me, and in your care and deligence in my affaires farr to exceed any of those obligacons your letters mencon. I doe very well approve of what you have done in letting Malloyd lands w^ch^ was in M^res^ Davies hands to another, and likewise of what else you doe, and have done in my concernm^ts^, as being acted by an honest, sincere heart, and with much more discretion then I could have done had I beene present. As for Eleccons to a new representative, I believe the gentlemen you mencon who were so early stirring are exceedingly deceived in their hopes and expectacons; for my owne parte I would hold it a greate mercy (and that w^ch^ my heart would willingly embrace), to be att libertie to live in the most retired and private course of life that I am capable of, and I am perswaded I shall rejoyce in it, when the Lord shall call me to such a condicon, and therefore I shalbee as farr from thinking myselfe worthy or fitt to serve my countrey in soe criticall a tyme as this is, (wherein the wisest men cannot see farr, and the best of men hath scarce

faith enough to wayte on the eternall blessed God in his outgoings in those hidden and secret pathes, wherein His Providence hath led his people of late dayes), as I shalbee from declining to serve them, in any capacity, when I am thereunto called. If my service hath in any thing beene acceptable unto my country, I desire that the Lord may have the praise, who is the author, and with whose Heiffer I ploughed and laboured in these affaires, w^ch^ concerned the welfare of my countrey (myselfe being but a weake inconciderable instrum^t^), I meane the godly people of Wales, who I am afraid are too much despised and derided in oure poore countrey. But I hope that now the time is come that the Sunne of Righteousnes shall arise with healing under his wings for our poore nation, to turne them from darkness to his marvelous light, and from the power of Satan unto God. I understand my friends in Merrionythshire are in arreares to mee for rent, because of the badnesse of the Marcatts for cattle, I therefore would be willing to take leane cattle of them; I meane two and three yeare old heifferss, and runts and lambes, if they might be gott to Hollihead, from whence I could have them fetched over. I know not how feazible this may bee, and therefore propound it onely. I have excellent feeding ground here, but cannot gett stocke here to putt upon it.

I have received late letters from y^e^ Lord Com^a^ Whittlocke on behalfe of his nephew Mostyn, to have the mannor of Gogarth sould unto him, wherein he was very earnest, and I am not willing to parte with it untill I am fully satisfyed what my Interest there is. I am informed that upon y^e^ La: Mostyn's death their terme is expired, because the last lease was taken after y^e^ Bishopps were put downe, and this I am confident is true, as well in this case as in Mr. Mostyn of Rhyd's case, and others, whose leases Col. Twisleton avoyded; but how to find it out is the difficulty.

I pray make what enquiry you can after it. I am p'swaded there are some p'sons in Anglesey that can make it out, and will do it for reward, wherein I would not have you be sparing.

Secondly, I am informed that all, or most of Gloddeth belongeth to me, as being of the mannor of Gogarth, and that Gogarth is worth £300 ℔ annum. How probable this may be I know not. If you could by any meanes recover the Bookes and Records of the Bish$^{pp}$ and Chapters much of these things would be discoovered; likewise there have beene many settlem$^{ts}$ of the Mostyn's estates, and ffines upon them, whereby it appeare what freehold they had there. Likewise inquirie might be made from whom and when the Mostyn's purchased any lands there (for they cannot pretend to any great antiquity there), and if from noe man that was a freeholder there, or by noe purchase but the B$^{pps}$ lease, then it carries a strong presumption with it that they have noe freehold there, w$^{ch}$ Mr. Whittlocke's earnestnesse seemes to mak out unto me. I believe the Recorders of ffines for that countrey may give some light, and Mr. John Maddocks, and many other p'sons in that neighbourhood can discover the wholle trueth, although I doe not expect it from any of them untill God p'swaed their conscience that it is their duty to bring trueth to light. I pray use those wayes and meanes your genious will lead you unto to find out these things, and returne what you conceive on the wholle to

Your most affecconate and faithful
cosen to serve you

Dublin, 24th May, 1653. J. J.

To cosin Ellis Hughes.

To Mr Poore.

Worthy Sr

I acknowledge myselfe much engaged to you for your respects to mee, which I find menconed in your letter of the 12th present. As to what you propound of a lease of Chappell Izard and your other lands theere, to be granted for 12 yeares, att 200*l* ℔ annum without deduccon, I shall presume to give you this account—first, that you doe not seeme clearly to understand neither ye quantity nor condicon of your Estate heere; as to ye quantity I am p'swaded that all ye lands you have on both sides of the River will not amount, according to 21 foote to ye Pearch (which is the measure of this Countrey), unto 600 Acres, and that ye same would not have yielded in the best of tymes to have beene lett at Rack for five shillings the acre, one wh another, of all which there is about one halfe of the lands runne over with Furres in this tyme of warr, and will yield little or noe profitt without very great charge to stubb up the ffurrs, and Cantrells Towne being could wett ground, yields little grasse for want of trenching; The meadows being but a very small quantity all plowed up, and thereby the profitt of them much diminished; The howses in the Towne and the Mill and Damme and Bankes are very much out of repaire, and will in a short tyme (if more charge be not layd out upon them, then a Tenant for few yeares can doe or can be expected from him) fall to ruine. Secondly, I conceive that you have not the condicon of affaires heere truly represented unto you; there is now goeing out of your Estate, in monthly assessmts above 30s every weeke, and I thinke somewhat more, and this is not by one third pt soe much as is upon it in ye Winter; there is (besides this) for provision of hay, fire, straw and candle, a considerable charge, but the certainty of that I have not yet learned, which charge in the whole will amount to little

lesse than 100*l.* ℔ annum. And, I speake it sincerely, I doe not expect to live soe longe as to have the assessm^ts abated upon those Lands, ffor y^e monthly supplyes from England, for maintenance of the fforces here, is thirty thousand pounds ℔ month, and there can be noe expectacon of abatem^t in Ireland, until England be first freed from sending any supplyes thence; and it is not imaginable by any that knowes the condicon of affaires here that wee can disband soe many of our fforces, as the supplyes from England payes, and therefore if those supplys be withdrawne before we can spare it, the assessm^ts must of necessity be raised heere, for you cannot expect y^t this land (after so Generall a Revolt and soe thorough a warr) can be in any securety without an army in the field, the garrisons well manned, which are in number at this instant above 440 garrisons. Haveing faithfully layd the state of things before you, I shall informe you that my purpose was (if you would have granted mee those Tearmes I propounded) to have endeavoured to bring your ground into heart by Lymeing and some other lasting Improvem^t and therein and in those other defects before menconed to have beene at some considerable charge, which in soe short a time as I have I cannot expect any suitable returne; and therefore if you please to grant mee a lease thereof for 12 or 14 yearse att 100*l.* ℔ annum certaine and without deduction, and the lease to begin from May day last as you propound, or else for 21 yeares at the same Rent, giveing you 100*l.* fine or incomb, and to be bound not to alien or sell my Tearme or lease without your license, I shall willingly become your Tenant for y^t time and upon those Tearmes, and I hope I shall be as faithfull in p'forming with you as any you deale withall. If not, I am content with the tyme I have, and shall never give you any further trouble in this matter; and were it not for y^e pleasure of y^e River and conveniency of

the howse to remove into in the tyme of sicknesse. I had never menconed it unto you at the first—there being 3 parts of 4 in Ireland wast for want of Inhabitants to plant it, and y^e^ best Lands in Ireland may be had for inhabiting. And as the people finde securety to plant abroad further off, the Rates of the lands about Dublin will fall. As to the Question upon y^e^ lands of S^t^ Lawrence, I have made entry upon it as your Tenant, and have taken coppyes of the Records by which the lands passed from the Crowne; but the Estate passed from S^r^ R. Newcomen to yo^r^ Brother is not Record, nor any livery upon it, which is a defect, as your Lawiers will inform you. I shall endeavour to right you in y^t^ matter, without much charge to you, and alsoe myselfe, as being conserned for my tyme. I shall speake w^th^ your Couzen Peaseley, concerning the Arreares you mencon, and returne what accoount I have from him. I remayne,

Yo^r^ assured friend to serve you,

Dublin, 31 May, 1653. JO. JONES.

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To Mr. Courtney.

Deare Friend,

Yo^rs^ of the 7^th^ present, and therein the testimony of the Lord's blessed presence with us and our cause in the last fight, betwixt the fleets at Sea, hath much raised our spirits to a rejoicing frame. The Lord God give us meaknesse humbly to walke worthy of such mercys, and direct such as have the power of the Nation in their hands to improve the appearances of the Lord with them, to the praise of his greate name, and to the pulling down of the Mann of Sin and its tiranicall and wicked powers, as well in the hearts and spirits of his people (driving them to bitter disputes

and dividing principles about formes and shadowes, and to y^e^ exercising of faith which worketh by love, and improving gospell ordinances for the building of the new creature) is in those outward powers, with the anti-christian ——— hath for many yeares exersized over the estates, bodys and conciences of men. It hath seemed good unto the Lord to suffer most bitter pulpitt contentions to arise amongst us about the circumstance of an ordinance when to be administered, both sides engaging their poore hearers to a necessity of building their faith upon what they respectively assert, before they can be accounted members of the Church of Christ or of the house of God, and one side positively denying comunion in other ordinances as members of the Church of Christ, with any of the contrary judgm^t^ because they make a non-conformity in Judgm^t^ (though otherwise never soe holy and gracious) to be a disorderly walking I look upon as a Tiranizing over y^e^ contiences of their bretheren. I hope y^t^ God is putting an end to these contencons, which bringeth nothing but barrenesse and leanesse to y^e^ soule and provoketh neither to love nor good workes. I am loath to be too tedious on this theame. I desire to heare from you often.

Yo^r^ assured ffriend,

JO. JONES.

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Dublin, 13^th^ June, 1653.

Yo^r^ Brother is well; I gave orders to my man the last weeke to furnish him with something he wanted. I hope he will prove a good man, and y^t^ he will be gott into some employment wherein he may find subsistance. Since the writing herof, I have seen a list of the p'sons which are called to act (in Councell) the Supreame authority of the

Nacon, wherein I find yo$^{r}$ name, and with much rejoycing bless God y$^{t}$ directed the calling of men of integrity and good conscience towards God and men into soe high a truth. The Lord give you all a spirit of meeknesse, humility and sobriety, y$^{t}$ that the wisdome which is hid in him may be abundantly given unto you, y$^{t}$ the world may be convinced y$^{t}$ ou$^{r}$ blessed, eternall, wise, powerfull and patient King Jesus can and now doth begin to Governe y$^{e}$ Nacons of the earth by his Spirit in his Saints. The Blessed Lord make you repaires of the breaches, healers of the nacons and reconsilers of those hart divisions y$^{t}$ have for many yeares reigned in the world, and is now too predominent amongt the S$^{ts}$ and Servants of Jesus. I pray endeavo$^{r}$ to improve y$^{t}$ principle and interest w$^{ch}$ most tends to the uniting of the S$^{ts}$ in love, being the Sum of the Gospell, the life of the S$^{ts}$ and y$^{e}$ healing y$^{t}$ is in y$^{e}$ wings of y$^{e}$ Sunn of Righteousnesse. It is not Circusision nor this or that forme y$^{t}$ availeth any thing, but faith that worketh by love heare and unity before you think of dwelling in yo$^{r}$ ser ——— houses remembering who hath said y$^{t}$ a house divided ag$^{t}$ itselfe cannot stand; this is y$^{t}$ supreame law of y$^{t}$ supreame King Jesus, which will render you to all Nacons a wise, a great and an understanding Councell. Deutronomy 4: 3, 4, 5 verses. Mencon my name to such in y$^{e}$ assembly as I am acquainted with, and to Mr. Browne, although I am unacqainted with him.

Yo$^{rs}$ in all bonds of love,

June 14$^{th}$ 1653. JO. JONES.

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Col$^{l}$ Jones to Major Gen$^{ll}$ Tho. Harrison,

Most precious friend,

I forbeare herein to use the greate titular addicions due to you, that I may speake the language of the present

temper of my heart, which I desire to doe in this hower of temptation in simplicity and faithfulness.

My spirit hath beene of late much saddened by an apprehention of grevious heart Divissions, which to me seemed to be amongst the people of God in Ireland, upon the Accompt of differing in judgm$^{t}$ about y$^{e}$ circūstances of an outward Administracon. But y$^{e}$ confidence I had that the Lord would make those persons who (upon y$^{e}$ accompt of being more Religeous, more meeke in spirit, and more selfe denying than those y$^{t}$ went before them), were called together to act the Supreme authority of the Nacon, would be instrum$^{ts}$ of healing of and repayrors of the Breaches amongst the people of God, supported me in hope to live to see those occasions of Divisions removed, and y$^{t}$ Rubish (which hinders the cementing of Christian spirits), was hed away, by y$^{e}$ swete and plesant Streame, those Rivers of pleasures, the powerfull love of God in Christ to the Saints begetting in their Spirits an overflowing of p'fect love towards one another and striveing by a holy emulacion, who should exceede each other in offices of Love and spirit of humility. But Deare friend it hath been declared unto us to the exceeding greate greife of some that there are Contentions and Divisions amongst you; the choisest and most singularly elected Parliam$^{t}$ that ever was in England. Without question our contentions and divisions proceede from our lusts. And the raigning lusts amongst professors are pride, coveteousnesse, and hypocrasie, O therfore watch over yo$^{r}$ owne hearts that those lusts may not lodg there. It is a sadd thing to reade what is writ from England, that the very face of authority is worn out, and the hopes and expectation of the Saints frustrated through yo$^{r}$ Divisions, you are reputed to be men fearing God, that being the character by which you were made choice of, and therefore men at a distance cannot conceive that those Civill interests

which divided Councells formerly is the cause of yo^rs But rather guesse yo^rs growes by Diversity of Judgm^ts about formes or Administracons tending to Religious worship, And how farr the Civill power and authority of Armies and supreme Councells professing Christ have warrant to contest in these disputes, to the dividing of their power, defaceing their authority, and endangering the involving of a Nacon in blood, and exposing them to the cruelty of y^e Comon Enemy to y^r scandall and dishon^r of y^e Lord Jesus, and scattering of his Church, is not difficult to Judg, and y^t will be the issue of yo^r divisions if the Lord in mercy prevent not; O therfore for y^e Lord Jesus sake strive for a spirit of humility, and meeknesse, and strive with all y^e powers, and faculties of Soull to unite y^e hearts of all the S^ts in Love and holy Comunion, and walking together, and lett it never be sayd that the Comunion of S^ts once an Article of our Creede, is neither in the faith nor practice of the S^ts in England, I wish and earnestly pray, that these my weake apprehensions, or feares may have no grounds to warrant them. But I hope the Lord hath given you a Spirit not to dispize small things, and y^t you are fully p'swaded that I am one who unfaignedly loves you in the highest and sweetest Bonds, and in love will be alwayes found,

Yo^r most faithful and reall freind and
servant in Christ Jesus,

Dated 11th August, 1653. JO. JONES.

Major Gen^ll Hardresse Waller
presents you with his humble
services.

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To y^e Xan freinds in the respective Precincts
Christian ffreinds,

It having pleased ou^r God to appeare with his servants in their late Engagem^t with the Hollanders at sea and thereby

to worke a greate deliverance for his people in this Comon-wealth, and in witnessing ag$^{t}$ the Enemyes confidence in their strenght, and their resolution to expose this Comon-wealth to y$^{e}$ power of mercylesse Enemy and thereby to make ineffectuall those precious merceyes which the Lord hath by his mighty power and strong arme given to his people by removeing y$^{e}$ yokes of Bondage Tirany and oppression that lay upon them, in very many signall victoryes in these three Nations, to the astonishm$^{t}$ of all forreine States round about us, and by giveing the Gospell a free passage through the Land, wee conceive it a duty incumbent upon us to give unto all that feare the Lord in this Land timely advertizement of this seasonable and saveing mercy, that every one of us may (through the Lord's strenghtening of us) sett up a Monum$^{t}$ of everlasting praise to his blessed name, in his owne heart, 1 Sam. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 verses. And as this mercy is of universall and publique concernem$^{t}$ to all the people of this Comonwealth, soe wee conceive it proper that all that feare the Lord, and are sensible of the same should at some sett tyme returne praise and thanks unto the Lord, who is our man of Warr, and hath triumphed gloriousley throweing them that lifted up themselves into the Sea. Exodus 15, 1, &c. And that at the same tyme, and at all tymes when wee present our soules before the Lord in prayers, we should be exceedingly earnest with him, that he would give unto his people and especially those of them in publique authority and comand in this Comonwealth, an humble, thankfull and meeke frame of Spiritt under the enjoym$^{t}$ of such greate mercyes and deliverances, and faith enought to depend upon the Lord and to wait for and followe his providence to guide them in the discharge of their duty, The sett tyme we recomend unto you for this publiqe duty is Thursday the 25$^{th}$ of this Instant August, if this advertisem$^{t}$ come to your hand in tyme, and

if not then we desire itt may be that day sevennight being the first of September, and least the perticulars of y^e^ said Engagem^t^ might not come to yo^r^ knowledge wee thought good to mencon unto you that it began on the 29^th^ July in y^e^ afternoone and continued three dayes. The Enemy had y^e^ advantage of the weather gage, number and trimming being fresh and cleane, yet the Lord discomfited them, betweene thirty and forty of their men of warr burnt and sunk, one thousand of their men saved alive and taken prisoners and the rest being much shattered pursued into the Texel. The men they lost in fight and were drownded in the Shipps that are burnt and sunck, are conceived to be very many, the fight being longe and sharpe, Wee lost two of our Shipps which were fired by the Enemy, but our men in one of them were saved, wee had 250 men slayne whereof 7 capt. and 750 wounded, and now wee may say with the profett, Pslame 124. If it had not beene the Lord who was on our side the waters had overwhelmed us, Blessed be the Lord who hath not given us a prey to their teeth, unto whose guidance we comend you, and in him rest.

Yo^r^ very affeccionat ffriends

C. H., E. L., M. C., J. J.

Dublin, the 18th August, 1653.

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Dearely beloved ffreinds in the Lord Jesus,

Wee have in returne of our letters to you received from some of you such observations as were upon yo^r^ hearts of the most probable causes of y^e^ long continuance of the Lord's heavy hand upon this poore Land and Nation wherein many perticulars are menconed conteyning just reproofes and wholesome admonitions to us as well in ou^r^ walkings as Xans as in the discharge of ou^r^ duty as Magestrates, and

that those Christian and sincere warnings and councells (through grace) be made effectuall for the fitting of us to sett forth the praise of our God in our blamelesse walking before him and in the faithfull discharge of that greate trust comitted to us, Wee earnestly desire yo$^{r}$ frequent and fervent seeking the Lord on our behalfes that his blessed presence may be with us to consume our Lusts and cutt of our beloved Sins, to fill ou$^{r}$ harts with his feare, and to build us up in the most holy faith which worketh by love that wee may be supplied with wisdome and knowledge (to guide us in all our actions) out of that hidden treasure layd up in the Lord Jesus, and that wee may abound in love to and tender care of all that truly feare the Lord, and may not become Instrum$^{ts}$ of discouragem$^{t}$ unto any of them.) As it is our duty to serve ou$^{r}$ generacons in the places wherein the Lord hath sett us, with faithfullnes and sincerity soe wee looke upon it as yo$^{r}$ duty to warne us of our faylings in a spirit of meekenesse and charity, and to spread yo$^{r}$ mantle of love over us, that the name of our God, and the Gospell of his son be not evill spoken of by reason of our weaknesses.

There are some perticulars menconed in diverse letters from Christian friends wherin wee labour under difficulties. The first is the want of gracious and fitt persons to be sent abroad to preach the Gospell, the Harvest being greate and the labourers few. The second is the want of competent numbers of fitt persons feareing God for the due adm$^{n}$ of Justice, removall of oppressions and managem$^{t}$ of other Civill affaires in every respective precinct, by reason whereof and of the necessity of carrying on that worke many persons are in those Imploym$^{ts}$ in whom little evidence of Godlinesse may be discovered, more than morality and civill deportm$^{t}$ neverthelesse if you can informe us of any persons in any of the said Imploym$^{ts}$ of scandalous conversation or unworthy of their trust wee hope (that upon intimacon

of p̄ticulars from you) the Lord will assist us to beare our witnesse against such, by removeing them, and trust him for supply of better Instrum$^{ts}$ And because wee are now prepareing new Com̄issions to be sent into all parts for Adm$^{n}$ of Justice, wherein many p'sons in each precinct must be necessarily imployed, Wee desire you forthwith to send us the names of as many p'sons as you knowe who are godly and competently qualifyed for y$^{t}$ worke, and likewise the names of as many as you knowe who are of approved lives and competently qualifyed to preach the Gospell and are willing to bestowe their paynes therein. Deare ffreinds, lett yo$^{r}$ moderation be knowne unto all men (for the Lord is at hand) that when he cometh he may not finde any of you beateing his fellow servants; Be watchfull over one another that a spirit of hypocrasy and of divideing principles may not possesse any of you, Lett all that feare the Lord with you assemble yo'selves often together to speke well of his name, and to provoake one another to love and good workes, Malach 3, 16. Heb. 10, 24, 25. let yo$^{r}$ emulation be who shall most abound in love and meeknesse towards one another and who shall be found most free from strife. Phil. 2, 1, 2, 3, 4. 1 Peter 1, 22. And the God of peace that brought againe from y$^{e}$ dead the Lord Jesus, the greate shepard of the sheepe, through the blood of the everlasting Covenant make you perfect in every good worke to doe his will. In whom wee rest.

Your affec̄onat friends,

August, 1653. C. H., E. L., M. C., J. J.

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To Mr. Poore.

Worthy S$^{r}$

Yours of y$^{e}$ 29$^{th}$ of August came to my hands few dayes since, whereby I finde that you clayme to be in arreares to

you from M^r^ W^ms.^ and Com^y^ some Rent which is abated in leiu of St. Lawrence Lands, which hath beene kept from them and M^r^ Peasley, y^e^ Tertenant, by the Tenants of Palmerstowne, under pretence of the State's Interest. I have sent for the Gentlemen, and upon conference with them all together I find that the Rent abated as abovesaid is in M^r^ Peishe's hands, which he conceives due unto him upon y^e^ grounds aforesaid. And whereas you alledge in your letter y^t^ S^t^ Lawrence Lands is not comprised in the Lease, they alledge that y^e^ contrary is very apparent, as well by some letters of your owne as by the Lease itselfe, which comprise̊th all y^e^ Lands and Estate which the Lord Valentin had in the County of Dublin, belonging to or enjoyed with the Lands of Chappell Izard, and that there was a former Lease made thereof unto one Walker, by the Lord Valentin or yourselfe, which about the tyme of the sealing of the Lease you acquainted M^r^ W^ms.^ with, and told him then that if Walker should come to clayme that Lease, he should pay the Rent thereupon to M^r^ W^ms.^ and his assignes. And they further alledge that Cantwells Towne, Irish Towne, and diverse other Lands comprised in the said Lease are not therein perticularly named, and may as well be said not to be in the said Lease as y^e^ Lands of S^t^ Lawrence. Upon the whole matter I humbly offer my opinion that you cannot well insist upon y^t^ Argum^t^ and that it will not be worth your trouble to contest with the Gentleman that marryed your kinswoman (and whose present condicon is not very plentifull) for soe small a matter, especially considering how serviceable she hath beene to you in the Hazarding of her owne life in y^e^ preservacon of your howse from being destroyed by y^e^ Enemy. M^r^ Peisley will pay you now 33^l.^ 8^s.^ being in full of the last half yeares Rent ending at May last, there being therout deducted for S^t^ Lawrence 7^l.^ 10^s.^ and 9^l.^ 2^s.^ for Assessm^ts^ falling upon the

Rent, and which makes up the 50$^{l.}$ If you be not satisfyed with this acco$^{t}$ Mr. Peisley is content to referr the Determinacon thereof to any indifferent persons upon the place. But he hopes you will not putt him to that trouble, but rather expected some larger favo$^{r}$ or respects from you. He hath desire me to move that you would send him the Covenants you have from M$^{r}$ W$^{ms.}$ and his Comyt$^{e}$ or an effectual discharge of them, else he will be troubled by M$^{r}$ W$^{ms.}$ he being engaged to discharge him. As touching my own p'ticular I have written to M$^{r}$ Dan Lloyd at large.

I remayne,
Your affecconate freind to serve you,

Dublin, y$^{e}$ 15$^{th}$ Oct., 1653. J. J.

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To M$^{r}$ Morgan Lloyd.

Deare Friend, Dublin, 30$^{th}$ Sept., 1653.

I intend to send you herewith one or more coppyes of your paper printed, wherein (although there was much care taken in the correction) yet through the unskilfullnesse of the composer of y$^{e}$ presse, and correctors you will finde that many errors have escaped us, but I hope none very consequentiall. I intend to send over the bookes to Majo$^{r}$ Swift, from thence you may order the disposall of them as you please. I confesse the discourse is exceedingly good and spirituall according to my understanding, yet my selfe and many other sober wise Christians heere conceive that if it had beene penned in a language or still lesse parabolicall, and in more plane Scripture expressions, it would be more usefull. Babes must be fed with milk. There was one out of my family with you lately, whose report and a paper sent him from my boy makes some of our freinds

heere feare that you in Wales have layed aside all gospell ordinances, and particularly that of prayer. I know the reporter's temper, and therefore lay not any waight upon it, (and the paper haveing neither the gravity, sobriety, and meeke temper of yo$^{r}$ spirit in y$^{e}$ language of it, but like Jobes freinds too quick in sensureing what could not be in y$^{e}$ cognizance of y$^{e}$ pen man) I esteeme not as an evidence in this matter honer$^{d}$ I desire you to send me an account of y$^{e}$ state and condicon of y$^{e}$ S$^{tts.}$ and Church of God in Wales, and especially with you, and w$^{t}$ your p'sent practice is, y$^{t}$ y$^{e}$ mouth of the adversary may be stopped, and y$^{t}$ those y$^{t}$ feare y$^{e}$ Lord may rejoice with you and for you, and may glorifye our father w$^{ch}$ in heaven.

J. J.

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To M$^{r}$ Daniell Lloyd, att Wrexham.

Deare ffriend,

I have sealed the Bond and the Counterpart which you sent mee concerning Chappell Izard. But indeed I am troubled y$^{t}$ y$^{e}$ Gentleman is so unhandsome as to insist upon my Brother Kyffin and you to be suretyes for mee when I pay such a fine for soe short a tyme, and more for his Land then any man in these tymes will give. The conveniency of the howse is all that is desireable in the Bargaine, and very usefull for mee, but burthensome to a Tennant that is to live by his farme. You will finde by the enclosed what Rent is due to M$^{r}$ Poore from his former Tennant, and y$^{e}$ reasons of the Defalcation. The same defalcacon falls upon this halfe yeare, soe that the whole due to him att this tyme is 66$^{l.}$ 16$^{s.}$ which I will and must pay him. I have besides the defalcacon abovesaid layed

out about 3$^{l.}$ in searching for and takeing out Coppyes of the Records to make out his Tytle to St. Laurence, which he out to repay, although I cannot insist upon it in this Account, and untill I have my lease I am not enabled to trye the tytle, being as yett but a Tenant to an Assignee, and for soe short a tyme as will not beare the trouble of a suite. The possession is kept from mee to this day, the Corne carryed of y$^{e}$ ground, and at this tyme they sowe winter Corne there, and it may be with more confidence then formerly, because he that detaineth the Possession is a Parliam$^{t}$ man, and therefore not soe open to be molested with suites. But although this may raise under Tenants' confidence, yet I rest assured the Gentleman will make noe such use of his Imployment. I cannot remember, nor doe I believe that I have made M$^{r}$ Power a promise to pay him 100$^{l.}$ for this yeare nowe past, without suitable condicons propounded to be had from him. I did desire from him a Lease of 21 years, and had that beene granted mee then, which was about May, I had beene able to have done somewhat, in order to the recovery of the Land in Controversie, and to have payd this last halfe yeares Rent without deduction for the same. I am afraid I have beene over troublesome unto you in this matter, which makes mee be thus large with you, at this tyme that my Brother Kyffin and you may putt a periodd unto it as you judge best. I thanke you for the account you gave me of the S$^{ts}$ Church of God with you, and blessed be our Lord that preserves you from being entangled with y$^{e}$ snares of the Serpent, and leads you out with soe much zeale and fervency of spirit to avoid contentions and strife, and to provoake the people of God to unity and love, which are the bonds of peace and p$^{r}$fection. My enquiry after you proceeded from a desire I had to be enabled to give some Godly freinds heere an Account of you, and thereby to remove their jealousy which reports

had begot in them. Mr Thimbleton and Mr Rogers can give you an account of the state and temper of Professors heere, unto whose relation I refer you, and rest,

Your very affecconat freind,

Dublin, 18th October, 1653. JO. JONES.

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A note to be inclosed in Mr Dan. Lloyd's Letter.

As touching the half yeares rent due from Mr Peaseley ending at May last, he saith he will not pay any more then what is sett downe in the letter, without it be recovered by law. And really in my judgmt he ought to have allowance for St Laurence lands, it being kept from him, and the other sum in a tax sett upon the recet by vertue of any genll order made for relief of Tenants, and is deducted by all landlords. And there is the same reason for the last half yeare. However I leave that to my Brother Kyffin and you to compromise as you see cause.

Your assured friend,

18th October, 1653. J. J.

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From Mr Sterry to John Jones.

Noble Sir,

I have received, October the 15th, a sweete and Xan letter from you in which you express a love and esteeme of one of the lowest members in the Body of Christ beyond what he deserveth, you alsoe shew a deep understanding in the two greate evils of these tymes, which agree in a Carnality but differ in this, one layes the weight of religion upon an outward forme, the other setts up a Mistery of Eniquity in the inward ffancy and imagination by which it

takes away all forme of Religion in the outward man and confounds light with darknesse, good with Evill, Sperit with fflesh, Time with Eternity, God with the Creature, nay with the Devill, the first sort Savour not any mistery, and depth in the Gospell, the other turne the deepe things of God into the depths of Satan. I shall say noe more of the first sort, save onely that these things are shadowes and Christ is the Body, the kingdome of God consisteth not of these thinges but in Righteousnesse, the Righteousnesse of God which is Spirituall, and the originall the Righteousnesse of God which is the Morall, and the Coppy or Image of the other, grace, joy in the Holy Ghost, he y$^{t}$ doth these things shall be accepted of God and approved of men, that is, shall be justifyed in the day of all divine and humane principles, whether he eate or eate not, soe it be to the Lord, to Charity and Dedification, but if any man be contentious about these things, I finde noe such custome nor any encouragem$^{t}$ to it, to flowe from the spirit and face of our Lord Jesus in my soule. But if any man would bringe the S'$^{ts}$ into Bondage to such ordinances as p'ish in the useing, hee seemes not to be thoroughly instructed in the power of Christes death or the virtue of his resurrection, by which a living way is made into the most holy place, thorow the rending of the vaile of fflesh ffor the other sort of Principles they have had their ffirst beginnings in Christianity at Symon Magus who called himselfe the supreame vertue and power, that is the father and carryed about with him a Trumpett which he said was the supreame wisdome or understanding on which the Angells were begotten, according to these Principles by Majicke he served himselfe of the Rulers of the Darknesse of this world, and by Sensuallity fed himselfe without feare, upon all visible instrum$^{ts}$ of Voluptuousnesse. S$^{r}$ the bottome of those principles unvailed of all their Maskeing,

Mysterious Language, is this, that there is noe God but the spirit of this visible world, noe other state or appearance of things besides this visible image, noe other Eternity save a perpetuall succession of Generation and Corruption, noe Angells besides the various imaginations of men or man himselfe, that. all this is God, The spirit of this world as it is in the whole world is the father. Tho it is in every or any P'ticular man or appearance is Jesus Christ; that this is the everlasting Gospell to knowe this, that all is God, that wee are God, that everything is God, and upon this account to be alike free to all thinges, and this is Heaven and spiritually on the other side to thinke that anythinge is sin, that there is a Heaven, a Hell, a God beyond this image of thinges, this alone is darkenesse, and Hell and the Devill, that when wee dye o$^{r}$ spirits are swallowed up into the spiritt of this world, which is our returne to the ffather, and our Bodyes change into some other naturall forme of plant, beaste or the like.

But S$^{r}$ that which I have seene or learned in the light of Christ is this, that there is one God the father of whome are all thinges, who alsoe is three, the ffather, the word and Spiritt. This is he who Inhabiteth Eternity, who is invisable, incomprehensible to the eye and understanding of every Creature, whom the Heavens of Hevons cannot hold, those heavens which are farr more above these visible heavens, of Sunn Moon and Starrs, than these are above this spott of earth, that there is one Jesus the immortall Word, by in and for whom all things were created invisible and visible; this Jesus is God and soe equall to the ffather, one with the ffather he descended into fflesh, soe he became lesse then the ffather, and was obedient to him through the Crosse, Resurrection, and Assention, he putt of fflesh returned to the ffather in our nature, which he changed ffrom fflesh into spiritt, conformeing it p'fectly to the divine

nature makeing it in Soule and Body one Spiritt with God the ffather, and yet keeping it in its owne propriety as a distinct Spiritt from him. This same Jesus as the Lord from Heaven, as a quickening spirit descends into the soules of his Saints, reveales himselfe and the ffather there formes himselfe in them, conformes them to himself, purgeth them by degrees from all polutions of flesh and spirit, carryes on the felloweship of his sufferings death and resurrection in them, until he have made them spiritt of his spiritt, one spirit with himselfe and y$^{e}$ ffather, first in Soule, finally at the last day in Body alsoe. Thus his prayer is heard that his Saints may be where he is and may be made p'fect in one, as the ffather and he are one. In the meane tyme while wee are in fflesh wee are imperfect and weake in spirit, wee are besett with a weight of sin which easily presseth us downe, and haveinge the first fruits of the spiritt wee still grone under this body of sin and death, though of a truth wee bye the eye of faith see ourselves already p'fect in the ffather and in Christ above, as alsoe the ffather and Christ liveing in us, yet this sight of faith is butt in part, this life of the ffather and of Christ is but in its infancy, in a riddle in much obscurety and imp'fection in us, y$^{t}$ we cannot but continually say that the father and Christ are farr greater, and if wee thinke wee knowe anythinge, or are anythinge, wee knowe nothing as wee ought to knowe, wee are nothing. S$^{r}$ since I received yours I have beene in Phisick and now write in much infirmity of Body. I hope if the Lord p̄mitt, to write more on this subject the next weeke.

Your most Humble and obliged servant,

PETER STERRY.

Whitehall October 24$^{th}$ 1653.

M^r^ Standish,

I pray be pleased to direct the bearer Cap^t^ Hugh Poole how he may have his arrears stated, for his service in England. I can testifye that the certificate he hath is under Coll^l^ Myttons owne hand and that the bearer actually served in our Welsh Brigade as L^t^ of a foot company in Col^l^ Popes Regim^t^ and that Col^l^ Thomas Mytton commanded that Brigate in Cheife. I likewise remember that he continued in that comand untill he was reduced and his company in that Regim^t^ disbanded in order to forme a new Regim^t^ for y^e^ service in Ireland, which Regim^t^ came over with Col^l^ Michael Jones, and was comanded by Coll^l^ Kinaston, and in which Regim^t^ Cap^t^ Poole had the comand of a Cap^t^. I likewise remember that the said Regim^t^ came over about June, 1647, but cannot presisely remember the tyme, nor can I certifye what tyme his service began, but doe veryly believe that he served during the tyme menconed in Coll^l^ Myttons certificate.

I rest, your loveing freind,

JO. JONES.

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To Coll^l^ Philip Jones.

Deare and Hon^ord^ ffreind.

The office of these lynes are only to acknowledge yo^r^ kindnesse towards an undeserving creature, manifested in yo^r^ readynesse to take notice of any concernm^t^ of myne to my advantage, as I have found it in my former experiences of you, and hath beene fully presented to mee lately by my Brother. Such offices of friendship and respect are y^e^ more generous and acceptable when extended to such as cannot, or proceeds from such as neede not answerable retaliation. It is the Blessed temper of y^e^ spirit of y^e^ Lord Jesus Christ in his S^ts^ to be ready and willing to serve one another in

love, and it is a precious mercy to such as feare the Lord when such as are in supreame authority have such a frame and temper of spirit in them. I have bene (by many providences to mee), raised from the dust to sit and act in places too high for mee, wherein I have found snares upon my spirit, to be lifted up in high thoughts of myselfe, and like a wanton Dame sitting on a Hill, to be regardlesse and compassionatlesse of those who in their outward stations seeme belowe mee. But my often minding the aboundance of humility, love and compassion that was manifested in the Lord Jesus, and ought to be in his members, and the little distance and dissimilitude that is betweene mee and the worst of men, hath beene a meanes through grace to keepe mee in some measure of sobriety.

Deare S^r^. The interest you are pleased to grant mee in you I shall freely make use of as often as any occasion of myne shall call mee unto it, with this assurance that (if in anythinge I shall be found immodest or pertiall, as most men are in their owne concernm^ts^), you will be pleased to favo^r^ mee soe farr as to smother it, before my weakness be made more publiqe, and to that end if my Brother waite upon you oftener than is meete to lay it to my account. I pray present my service to deare Mr. Scobell, he is an humble, loving soule, with whom I could comfortably spend all the dayes of my life. I remayne

Yo^rs^ faithfully to serve you,

JO. JONES.

Dublin, the 13th Aprill, 1654.

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(To Oliver Cromwell, Protector.)

May it please yo^r^ Highness.

Having observed to what issue that hon^ble^ and liberall intention of the late Parliam^t^, and since of yo^r^ Highnesse

and yo$^{r}$ Councell (towards widdowes and orphans whose respective arreares amount not to above 150), is like to come to, by reason of the indigency of the persons to whom such debts are due, many of them offering for the supply of their p'sent wants to make sale of their Debentures for 5s. in the pound, and thereby to transferr that greate advantage of yo$^{r}$ Highnesse indulgence, and beneficence towards them, unto such who have raised themselves from nothing to greate estates by the troubles of the tymes, wherein many of them probably minded themselves more then the publiqe interest. I made bould to comunicate my thoughts in that matter to my Lord Gen$^{ll}$ ffleetwood, who was pleased to advise mee to present the same to yo$^{r}$ Highnes; and had not I had his comand for it I had not presumed to give you this trouble. The Baronyes appointed for satisfaccon of y$^{e}$ said widdowes and orphans are pretty large in extent, and have some of the best seates in Ireland in them, and if they were exposed to sale, would yeld in ready money (as most men that are knoweing in affaires of that nature doe judge), double the value they are sett for to the widdowes, and yet if sett out in Lands will be of little value to them, because their respective proporcons will be soe inconsiderable as that noe man will deale with them for the same but upon very low tearmes, and their poverty will not admitt them to plant the same, and consequently their interest will become a prey to other men; ffor prevention whereof I humbly propound that such persons as yo$^{r}$ Highnes shall thinke fitt to trust, may be impowered to pay y$^{e}$ arreares of the said widdowes and orphans (or of as many of them as desire it), in ready money, and take assignm$^{ts}$ to yo$^{r}$ Highnes use of the said debts, and of their interest to lands for the same, within y$^{e}$ said Baronyes, and that said persons soe intrusted may be likewise impowered to make sale of soe much of the lands within the

said Baronyes as shall reimburse the said money ; ffor the carrying on of this work, I humbly conceive that there will not neede much money to be issued before money come in by sayle, and that may be borrowed out of yo$^{r}$ grand Tres$^{ry}$ heere for a short tyme, to be repaided by sayle as aforesaid. By this meanes the poore widdowes and orphans will have more plenary satisfaccon, and more to their content, than by lands in the way prescribed, and I am p'swaded that halfe the lands appointed for their satisfaccon, and those of the best Seates will be reserved for yo$^{r}$ Highnesse disposal, and it were pitty that some Seates in those Baronyes should be dismembered. If yo$^{r}$ Highnesse aproves of this course or any other for the end herein proposed, I humbly conceive that it will not be adviseable to delay it, because poore people will be pressing for liberty to sell their Debentures, or contriveing some other way by private contracts, to make sayle of their Interests when lands are sett out on to them. All which I humbly leave to yo$^{r}$ Highnesse wisdome, to signifye yo$^{r}$ pleasure in, as you shall judge most meete, and rest,

Yo$^{r}$ Highnes most humble servant,

Dublin, the 17th Aprill, 1654. JO. JONES.

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To y$^{e}$ Lord Henry Cromwell.

Right Hon$^{ble}$

I have beene advised by my L$^{d}$ Gen$^{ll}$ ffleetwood to write the inclosed to his Highnes, which I humbly desire yo$^{r}$ Lo$^{pp}$ to p'sent, It concernes the three Baroneys appointed for satisfaccon of the arrears of Widdowes and Orphans, wherein I humbly conceive just satisfaccon may be given to the partyes concerned, and more to their content and profitt then their haveing of lands, yet halfe the land of these Baroneyes and the best Seates in them reserved for

his Highnes to dispose of, I am not in a condition to buy lands, because fallen in debt since the Lord tooke away my wife, and therefore am free from any other end in this matter then his Highnes service. If in this or any other matter I can be serviceable to his Highnesse or yo$^{r}$ Lo$^{pp}$ upon psonall or private acc$^{t}$ I am afraid it is my snare to be ever ambitious of y$^{e}$ hono$^{r}$ of such comands, I beseech you be not discouraged in proceeding to y$^{r}$ purchase of y$^{e}$ Lo$^{pps}$ of Bromfield and Yale, I dare assure you it is the cheapest purchase you can have in all those p$^{ts}$ of England for soe little money as it shall stand you in, and as certaine a Revenue as compleate a comand as I knowe in all those parts, what interest I have in it I wholly submitt to yo$^{r}$ disposal, and am perswaded S$^{r}$ James ffarrington will be glad to receive the money which he p$^{d}$ for the feefarme Rents, I make bold to mencon this thinge because I have not received any acc$^{t}$ from by brother touching that matter. The Lord fill you with his spirit of love and meeknesse that the desires of all that love and feare his name may be towards you, which att the throne of grace shall be the desires and prayers of

Yo$^{r}$ Lo$^{pps}$ most humble Servant,

Dublin the 17$^{th}$ Aprill, 1654. JO. JONES.

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Major Gen$^{ll}$ Harrison to Col$^{l}$ Jones.

Highgate 12$^{th}$d. 5$^{th}$m. 56.

My deerely beloved in o$^{r}$ Lord,

Yo$^{r}$ large and loveing letter dated 6$^{th}$d. of the 3$^{rd}$m. came not to my hands till a full month after, and then found me under trouble of so manie kinds (upon my Fathers decease) that I have beene to my griefe, hithertoo interrupted to send you answer.

Though you therein mentioned severall things very serious and weightee, and w$^{ch}$ might chall. some account, yet because I am One with you in most of them, and conceiving yo$^{r}$ l$^{re}$ was chiefly upon yo$^{r}$ greate Proposall (the Expresse Tearmes whereof I shall retorne, viz$^{t}$ To agree (as is alreadie) to act in dearest love expressed to him named Protector, (or Mount Sirion as the Sidonians called Hermon, and David in the spirit followed that faithfully, believingly, undoubtingly, unanimously, that He would retreat in action of undertaking (and soe witnes repentance by condisention) and wee would as willingly repent of o$^{r}$ sinfull dissentions) I shall therefore apply what I have now brought to offer, onely to that.

You propose, That wee agree to act deerest Love, &c., yett add, as is alreadie the meaning, whereof I do not fully conceive, because itt seems to imply wee should noe that, w$^{ch}$ is done already.

You propose in generall to deale wisely, rationally, plainly, &c., w$^{ch}$ from my hearte I desire to observe in whatever I shall have to doe with him: but you doe not assigne anie thing particularly wherein I shall soe deale.

The ends you propose my hearte saith amen unto. That He may retreat from the evill of his waies, and myselfe from myne, for both or either of w$^{ch}$ I hope my Soule would blesse Jehovah, and therefore be thanckfull for anie gracious helpe or mercies in order thereunto. I can affirme I desire not a haire from anie of their heads for anie unkindnes to mee, I could blesse them y$^{t}$ curse and praie for my persecuto$^{rs}$ as they are myne. For all the upright in hearte amongst them I daily aske mercy, as for my owne soule, I confesse also, I have much cause to bee ashamed for the best of my doeings, much more wherein manifold infirmities have beene compassing, yett I must not deny the grace and simplicity God hath given, to keepe the word of his

patience in this daie, though in a weake measure, I maie also tell you my feares (for w$^{ch}$ I have manie grounds, where upon I conceive) that some have comitted as sore Trespasse as anie mentioned in the Holy Scriptures from Caine to Judas. That adoreing hearte hath soe turned aside, they cannot saie, Is there not a lye in my right hand, Isi. 44. 20. They have chosen their owne waies, and I think, Isi. 66. 3. 45., is very applicatory to them. Soe. 2, Thes. 2. 11. I thinke they have forsaken the Lord, theire Defence is departed, yea is turned to be theire Enemy w$^{ch}$ waie soever they turned. Though they cry He heares not, though his hand be lifted they see not. But whilst this Distresse is upon them they trespasse yett more. 2 Cron. 28. 22. What you have to write, or (if the Lord soe please) to speake to mee in this matter (because Captaine Taylor hath hinted a little hope of seeing you) I begg an equall mind, open deare and hearte unto, and therein variousely begg the helpe of yo$^{r}$ praires. I have much cause to acknowlidge yo$^{r}$ tender love and respects manie waies, in thanckfull remembrance whereof I remaine

Yo$^{rs}$ much engaged, and firmly endeared in the Lord,

T. HARRISON.

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To the Governors of y$^{e}$ respective Precincts, to be comunicated to Xan freinds.

Deare ffreinds,

It hath indeed beene too formall a practice for p'sons in publique authority to multiply their orders and desires for days of prayse and prayer or humiliacon, and soe those from whome they expect such services have beene many tymes either unfitt subjects for it, or too carnally have conformed thereunto. The continuall pestilence which the

Lord encreaseth (in this place especially and in some other p$^{ts}$ of this Nacon) provakes o$^{r}$ hearts, and some others of his poore people heere, to reflect upon our selves and services who have beene indeede too much overtaken with some slothfull spirit, and now more seriously to consider what may be the minde of our God, who will be sanctifyed of all that draw nigh unto him, that while his good hand succours us still both by land and sea, not suffering any of our adversaries to prosper against us, but wonderfully pleadeing our cause to their reproofe, for which wee have greate reason of late to praise his holy name, yet that such sore chastizem$^{ts}$ more immediately from himselfe should rest upon us, we have therefore through mercy desired to to enquire more solemly into our wayes, and to waight at the throne of Grace, not only for a cleare discovery of the causes which provoakes him to followe us from place to place, blasting all our comforts, and makeing our very abode uncomfortable, in the places where wee might hope for more settlednesse, but alsoe for the assistance of his gracious spirit, filling us with holy zeale and fervour, ag$^{t}$ those many publique wickednesses which are obvious to our eyes that wee may not rest in a bare enquiry but according to that Exortation to Josua, in the 7$^{th}$ chapter of y$^{t}$ Booke and y$^{e}$ 10$^{th}$ verse, by doeing of our dutyes. And wee by this earnestly intreate and invite you in like manner as Bretheren to putt on bowells, and with us solemnly approache before the Lord on Tuesday next come seven-night, and the same day fortnight after to be y$^{e}$ second day, and in the Name of our Advocate Christ Jesus offereing up the holy and acceptable Incense of his Righteousnesse onely. Lett us stand, as it were, betweene the liveing and the dead to pleade the compassion of our heavenly father, not onely for the spareing of the remnant of his poore people and instrum$^{ts}$ in this Countrey, but for the pardoning and cleareing of as

many of those actuall Provocations and neglects w$^{ch}$ have beene comitted, or not faithfully witnessed against by us, and to the end wee may not be onely in appearance therein. Wee beseech you begge earnestly not onely for y$^{e}$ Discovery of such cases as may be yett more secrett, but for faithfullnesse and impartiall resolutions unto the Lord for us and all others unto whom he hath comitted Rule in this poore Nacon, that we may in all things witnesse unto him faithfully to the Terror of manifest evill doers, and to y$^{e}$ praise of them y$^{t}$ doe well, and further to the helping of us herein. We desire you y$^{t}$ when you have the first day together sought the helping hand of our God, you would send unto us speedily the assistance of such observations as shall be upon yo$^{r}$ hearts to be the most probable cause of this heavy hand, and consulting with the 1$^{st}$ Cor. 10$^{th}$ chap., 6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 verses, and Rom. 15, 4 verse, y$^{t}$ you would recollect according to the scriptures in what case the Lord used of ould to come out thus ag$^{t}$ his people or Instruccons, and what of the same evills you finde to be in the midest of us, and seeke the Lord for us, that wee may more seriously bewaile them before him, and so much as in us lyes, both as Christians and Majistrates, bring forth better fruites by our owne more more (*sic*) fervent upright walking with the Lord, and faithfull witnessing ag$^{t}$ all y$^{t}$ comitt such thinges which wee earnestly commend to you and rest

Yo$^{r}$ affeconat ffreinds,

C. ff, E. L, M. C., J. J.

Dublin, 1$^{st}$ July, 1658.

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To Mr. Storry.

Deare and Hon$^{d}$ in the Lord Jesus,

It was my happinesse (when I dwelt at Whitehall and was an unworthy member of that greate Councell) to have

some glymps of the Spirituall frame of yo$^{r}$ Soule and of those excellent truthes and precious Mysteries of the Gospell which you then held forth, and although the ffleshly temper of my heart, and the little light which I then or yet attained in the true and saveing knowledg of them would not admitt mee to retaine much of what I then heard from you (because my spiritual understanding was darke and lowe to apprehend, and my heart not filled to receive the impression of what you then delivered in many sermons) yet my desires have been very much to have those truthes renewed unto mee, and to have seene those labou$^{rs}$ of yo$^{rs}$ published in print, especially those Sermons you preached on Phill. 1, 21; and since the Lord hath bene pleased to take from me my precious yoake fellow and faithfull helper in the things of God, and to leave me heere, as it were, alone in a Land where the terrible Judgm$^{ts}$ hooave to and froe, devouring the Inhabitants, and where most of those that possesse the feare of the Lord are either engaged in publiqe and pulpit contencons about outward Administracons, especially those about Infant and adult washings, or carried out into a verball possession of the Bare name, and denying the power of Godlinesse, circumscribing God, Christ, Heaven, Hell and other objects of faith within themselves to be God and Christ, and therefore hould themselves not capable of sinning, and consequently noe accon of theirs to be sinne. That prayer is impertinent and needlesse, that were to acknowledg God without them, and because where there is noe sinne there is noe lawe, and where there is noe transgression. And thus endeavouring to build up a fearfull spirituall Babell instead of the service and worshipp of God by mysterious and unintelligible expressions. I have beene much heightened in those my desires for y$^{e}$ better establishing my owne heart in these shakeing times, and therefore have at this time taken upon mee the freedome to direct these lynes unto you,

therein to expresse those my former and p'sent desires, and likewise my hope that you will not be wanting in the greater duety you owe the Lord Jesus of publishing what hee hath revealed unto you of those hydden mysteryes unto those y^t^ want y^e^ light and (like a man in a dreame) may bee apt to be lifted up (as hee thinkes into heaven) into fires of contencons or darke clouds of notions, unto which when the least beame from the Sonne of Righteousnesse approacheth, the poore Creature's chariott of vapours and smoke dispenseth, and himselfe, frighted w^th^ the fearfull fall, awaketh and findeth himselfe in the lowest and darkest posture of man. I looke upon you as one of y^e^ most proper and effectual Instrum^ts^ in y^e^ Lord's hand, to convey that light and life y^t^ may awaken and warne poore creatures in such condicon, and thereby rescue them from the subtile snares of Sathan, which is the reason why I have given you this trouble, and am raised to this confidence y^t^ you will regard w^t^ is here written, although from one who is very little, if at all, knowne unto you; and if, in y^e^ mean time, you would aford me something of yo^r^ thoughts touching y^e^ before menconed perticulars which trouble and distract y^e^ church of Christ heere, I wuld esteem it a speciall favour from the Lord, and much of Christian freindshipp from you.

Yo^r^ affecionat freind,

Really to serve you in the ways and Bowells of Christ,

JO. JONES.

Dublin, 29th Sept., 1658.

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To his Ex^cie^ the Lord ffleetwood.

May it please yo^r^ Ex^cie^

Lieu^t^ Gen^ll^ Ludlowe, upon his goeing away from hence, which was on Tuesday, the 18^th^ p'sent, left his comand in Chieffe of the fforces heere in my manadgem^t^ haveing, as he

alledges, yo$^{r}$ Ex$^{cies}$ approbation for his soe doing. I confesse I did judge myselfe extreme unfitt for soe greate a Trust; butt all y$^{e}$ Officers here (Nemine Contradicente) when propounded to them gave their full Consent and Concurrance to it, without w$^{ch}$ I had been very loath to have undergone the Burthen of it, though intended but for a few dayes. The very nexte day after (w$^{ch}$ was on a Wednesday) we had some Rumo$^{r}$ of y$^{e}$ late unexpected change, and on Thursday, by the Packett, a full Relatiō by private l$^{res}$ It was very astonishing unto us (in regard for many weekes before wee had received noe l$^{re}$ by reason of contrary Winde) w$^{ch}$ informed us of any tendency of Councells towards such a perriod; upon y$^{e}$ first intimation thereof, I called all the Officers together, and disposed them to their several Chardges to prevent any practice of y$^{e}$ Comon Enemy upon us. I find them all as yet willing to acquiesse in y$^{e}$ acting of y$^{e}$ Lord's Providence, although mixed w$^{th}$ sorrow y$^{t}$ y$^{e}$ Lords seeme to procrastinate o$^{r}$ hopes of a firme settlem$^{t}$ of peace to o$^{r}$ Nation, and w$^{th}$ feare of w$^{t}$ y$^{e}$ issue of this Dispensation wilbe. But wee are not w$^{th}$out some measure of faith and hope that y$^{e}$ Lord will make good his promise to his people that all things will worke together for their good. For my owne parte, I have very stronge confidence y$^{t}$ yo$^{r}$ Lo$^{pp}$ will find all things in an honest, quiett posture here, waiting for the pleasure of the Lord concerning us, and for a speedie Establishm$^{t}$ of Power for administration of Justice and government. Men's Intereste and publique Revenue being almost pure Confusion for want thereof. Wee hope you will speedilie returne o$^{r}$ Comander in chieff unto us, his satisfaccon in w$^{t}$ is past will contribute much to y$^{e}$ perfect settling of y$^{e}$ mindes of many to an acquiessence therein.

This day wee, the Comand$^{rs}$ and Offic$^{rs}$ of y$^{e}$ army, keepe together to seeke y$^{e}$ Lord for councell and guidance to o$^{r}$

ffreinds in England, y$^{t}$ you may be lead by his blessed Spirit (and not your owne) to bring forth things as eminently gloriouse in holinesse and justice as yo$^{r}$ late actings have been eminently strange and unparalleled. The Lord seemes to promise some such fruict, in y$^{t}$ he preventetd y$^{e}$ shedding of one dropp of blood, whereas other Nations have been Rolled in blood upon farr lesse occasion. The Lord preserve you and all y$^{t}$ are faithfull to his Interest from y$^{e}$ malice and power of men. My wife continues ill of her late distemper.

Yo$^{r}$ Ex$^{cies}$ most humble Serva$^{t}$

Dublin, 22$^{d}$ 8$^{m}$ 1659. J. JONES.

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To his Ex$^{cie}$ The Lord Gen$^{ll}$ ffleetewoode to be Comunicated to the Gen$^{ll}$ Councell of Officers of his Army in England.

May it please yo$^{r}$ Ex$^{cie}$

The late extraordinary and (unto us) unexpected transaction att Westminster (comunicated unto us by l$^{res}$ from y$^{e}$ Gen$^{ll}$ Councell of Officers of yo$^{r}$ Army in England, and y$^{e}$ relation of o$^{r}$ beloved freind Col$^{l}$ Robert Barrowe, and likewise made knowen unto us by private l$^{res}$ from ffreinds in England some tyme before his arrivall here) possessed us w$^{th}$ a Dampe of Astonishm$^{t}$ and Sorrow, that the hope we had of the settlem$^{t}$ of y$^{e}$ Peace and Tranquility of these Nations upon a lasting and righteouse foundation should bee (soe farre as it is depended upon legall Instrum$^{ts}$ and formall Nationall Constitutions) soe soone shaken, That our most deare and hon$^{ble}$ freinds whom y$^{e}$ Lord hath imployed and signally owned in the dethroning of Tyrany and wickednesse (rooted in the late Governm$^{t}$ of the Nations) and in y$^{e}$ countenanceing and advanceing of the profession and practice of holynesse and Righteousnesse in y$^{e}$ Land, should

bee under soe severe a Dispensation as to be exersised by the Providence of the Lord (whose councells are unsearchable and his wayes past finding out) to treade upon the Brinke of Ruine and Desolation to themselves and these Nations, in y^e^ unfixing of y^t^ Nationall authority w^ch^ themselves (by undergoeing the like danger) had but few moneths before restored to y^e^ manadgem^t^ and dischardge of their Trust. These things in their first appearance to us seeme soe direfull and tragicall, that it hath occasioned greate thoughte and searching of heartes amongst us. And as we are satisfied that nothing but necessity and sense of duty can justifie actions of that nature, soe we are perswaded that yo^r^ Ex^cie^ and the rest of o^r^ Bretheren in yo^r^ army did judge themselves to be under those obligations, and we hope that their effectuall endeavo^rs^ to attaine to a more firme establishm^t^ of Peace and Righteousnesse in o^r^ Land, and to a more thorough Reformation or removall of whatsoever is grieveous and oppressive to the people, then what hath hitherto beene brought forth, wilbe such as wee neede not be ashamed of this o^r^ perswasion. We shal through the graceouse assistance of o^r^ God o^r^ respective stations, and according to the severall capacityes and opportunityes wherew^th^ the Lord shall fitt us, endeav^r^ to preserve the publicke peace of this Nation, and to prevent the designes of any tending to the disturbance thereof, or to devide us in interest or affection from o^r^ Bretheren in the army of England and Scotland w^ch^ is the grande designe of the Common Enemy of mankinde. And we hold it y^e^ highest duety incumbent upon us (as to men) to preserve Brotherly love and union amongst ourselves and towards our Bretheren of yo^r^ armyes in England and Scotland (in which union the peace and safety of these nations as well as o^r^ personall concernem^ts^ doeth in a very high measure consist) that soe we may be in the hand of y^e^ Lord as a threefold cord not

easily broken. And o$^{r}$ desire is to be founde earnest and prevailing wrestlers w$^{h}$ the Lord that we all may be cloathed w$^{th}$ a spirit of humility, meeknesse and the feare of him, hateing the pride pompe and glory of the worlde, that soe he may delight to dwell with us, and to guide us in judgem$^{t}$ and may (by his comfortable speaking to us, in this o$^{r}$ Wildernesse) and leading us in the Pathes of Righteousenesse make us in o$^{r}$ respective places usefull in y$^{t}$ greate worke of repayreing o$^{r}$ Broaches, and restoreing of Paths to dwell in.

Yo$^{r}$ Ex$^{cies}$ faithfull and humble serv$^{ts}$
signed in y$^{e}$ name and by the consent
of the Councell of Offic$^{rs}$ of the
army in Ireland.

| | |
|---|---|
| Har: Waller | Richard Lawrence |
| Tho: Cooper | Daniel Abbott |
| Peter Wallis | Henry Pritty |
| Alex: Bradfield | Thomas Sadlier |
| John Nellson | Henry Jones |
| Will: Arnop | Will: Moore |
| Jos: Deane | Edward Warren |

Dublin, 26$^{th}$ October, 1659. Thomas Davies.

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To his Ex$^{cie}$ L$^{t}$ Gen$^{ll}$ Ludlowe
Comander in Chiefe of y$^{e}$ forces in Ireland

S$^{r}$

The Representation of the Gen$^{ll}$ Councell of Offic$^{rs}$ of y$^{e}$ army in England directed to yo$^{r}$selfe to be comunicated to the Officers here and w$^{ch}$ yo$^{e}$ were pleased to inclose in yo$^{r}$ l$^{re}$ to me by Colonell Barrow. I have communicated to the councell of yo$^{r}$ officers who, in reality I thinke I may truely say every one of them had a very deepe and sadd sense of y$^{t}$ extraordinary action rep$^{e}$sented unto them!

They thought it adviseable to send copies of that representation and of those other papers produced by Collonell Barrowe to y^e^ severall Garrisons and quarters of yo^r^ army to prevent misunderstanding w^th^ strict injunction to bee watchfull to p'serve the publique Peace and to mayntaine love and union amongst us. We had recieved notice of y^t^ action by private l^res^ three dayes before Coll^l^ Barrowes arrivall upon w^ch^ there was a day kept to seeke the Lord in y^e^ Councell Chamber by the Com^rs^ and Officers, and all Offic^rs^ comanded forthw^th^ to repayre to their respective Chardges for y^e^ service above menconed, and not to be absent thence w^thout special order. I have given ord^r^ to Mr. Goodwine to send yo^u^ copies of as many of the said papers as may be of use unto you or worth yo^r^ perusall. The councell of yo^r^ officers here have thought it fitt to returne to y^e^ Lord Gen^ll^ ffletewood and his Gen^ll^ Councell of Offic^rs^ from whom y^e^ s^d^ rep^e^sentation came somew^t^ of their aprehensions touching y^e^ matter communicated unto them, and of what is upon their Spirite to promote in such a day as this w^ch^ they have expressed in the inclosed paper, and comanded me to convey the same to yo^r^ Ex^cies^ hand w^th^ a signification of their humble desire that you wilbe pleased to close and p'sent it according to the superscription. They have likewise appointed Lieu^t^ Coll: Isaack Dobson to waite on yo^r^ Ex^cie^ and negotiate the concernem^t^ of this army, but have not thought fitt to give him any instructions in writing, judgeing it fitter he should receive directions from yo^r^selfe in w^tever is proper for him to appeare in or insist upon in y^e^ behalf of this army, And when you shall judge his negotiation there may be of lesse use then his service here, It is desired he may returne to his chardge. The bearer Coll. Barrow wilbe ready to waite on you in y^e^ delivery of the l^tre^ if you judge it convenient.

Yo^r^ Ex^cies^ most humble servant,

Dublin, 27^th^ October, 1659. JOHN JONES.

To his Ex^cie^ the Lord Gen^ll^ ffleetwoode.

May it please yo^r^ Ex^cie^.

My hon^ble^ friend Coll. Barrow being here upon the place can give yo^r^ Ex^cie^ a better accompte of affayres here then I can by l'^res^. I hope yo^r^ fforces here will be found in a very good disposition to preserve the publique peace, and love and union w^th^ the armyes of England and Scotland, and that they will not be discomposed by any practice y^t^ may be attempted upon them to y^e^ contrary. The Lord Chancell^r^ Steele is under some indisposition to health, w^ch^ necessitates my constant attendance att the Councell Board, and therefore I humbly desire y^t^ o^r^ Lieu^t^ Gen^ll^ may be hastened unto us to beare his share of the burthen, and qualified w^th^ power as Com^r^. There was this last weeke a Horrid Murther comitted neare Ardmagh, upon (as they say) a Godly Englishman, who came lately into that countrey to plant. He was killed in his bedd, and his wife by him received 8 wounds, and thought by the villanes to have beene killed. There were tenne of them; three taken by track and pursuit of the neighbo^rs^, but noe Power in Ireland to doe justice upon them (as my long Robe assotiates tell mee. It is well Phineas, his companion, were not of that profession), nor to force them to impeach the other seaven. There is a clause in our Power requireing us to cause justice to be admistred, w^ch^ is judged of noe force w^th^out other comissions, or more articulat direction. Robberyes are frequently comitted on y^e^ English, and noe Power to make reparation to y^em^ upon the Irish as was accustomed formerly is necessary to be put in execution now. There is noe Power here (as they say) to compell one man to right another by paying him his due, as to y^t^ we are in p'fect confusion, and it is a wonder if violence and fforce be not used by the people to right themselves, and wee drive them to it, for noe publique Revenue is paid but as it is assigned to souldiers, and y^e^ poore men

y^t^ are to pay it, must have the souldiers helpe to compell their creditors to pay them, and thus you see w^t^ kind of Courtes of Justice are like (through the cautionary prudence of Hon^rble^ ffreinds in England), to grow up amongst us. I beseech yo^r^ Ex^cie^ let there be power placed somewhere to p^r^vent these greate unparalled misscheifes, and p^r^don y^e^ boldness of yo^r^ Ex^cies^ most humble and faithfull servant,

JOHN JONES.

Dublin, 28th October, 1659.

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To his Ex^cie^ Lord Gen^ll^ ffleetewood.

My Lord,

At my comming away from Whitehall the Councell were pleased at yo^r^ Lo^pps^ motion to grannt me £500 out of the Treasury of the army for my advance, but injoyned me to repay it to y^e^ Treasury here in Ireland. Truely the charge of my journey and preparation was soe greate y^t^ I had not £20 of y^t^ money left when I came to Holyhead, soe y^t^ if y^e^ pleasure of the Councell bee such y^t^ it must now be paid unto y^e^ Treasury, I have not wherewith to support myselfe here, where my expenses are unavoidably more then some of my Brotheren. This is noe place to borrow, and truely my wholl Estate in England is settled for paym^t^ of my debtes, being upwards of £2000, and afterwards upon my son, w^th^ power of revocation (after paym^t^ of my debts) by advise of my Trustees, and not otherwise, whereof I made bold to name yo^r^ Ex^cie^ as one of them, soe y^t^ I am in an incapacity to raise money for my p^r^sent maynteynance; in this station my humble request is (if yo^r^ Ex^cie^ judge it fitt) that if the said £500 be not allowed me towards my chardges

in repayreing hither, the repaym$^{t}$ thereof may be respited untill I am called away hence, w$^{ch}$ I humbly leave to yo$^{r}$ Ex$^{cies}$ wisdome to determine, and rest

Yo$^{r}$ Ex$^{cies}$ most humble servant,

J. JONES.

My wife is through mercy in a
good measure recovered of her
late distempers, w$^{ch}$ was y$^{t}$ w$^{ch}$
she had for these 3 yeares.
It wilbe an occasion of much rejoyceing
to us to heare often y$^{t}$ y$^{e}$ Lord deales
kindly w$^{th}$ y$^{r}$ Lo$^{pp}$ and yo$^{r}$ deare Lady,
and sweete Branches in respect to health.

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To my Hon$^{ble}$ Friend Coll Robert Barrowe.

Deare freind.

As many officers as were about y$^{e}$ Towne this morning mett to advise w$^{t}$ is fitt to be done upon y$^{e}$ papers w$^{ch}$ Mr. Payne brought over to be subscribed. I finde them all in a very good, honest frame of spirit, very willing and ready to act anything y$^{t}$ may mayntayne and strengthen union and love between them and y$^{e}$ army of England, and shall be warranted by y$^{e}$ rule of prudence and christianity. Some difficulty lay upon them in regard y$^{e}$ declaration of y$^{e}$ Army of England in relation to a future settlem$^{t}$, (and y$^{e}$ insisting upon some reall good things to be established to y$^{e}$ Nations, w$^{ch}$ may make y$^{e}$ people happier in their Civill and Spirituall concernements, then the late Powers have hitherto rendred them), is not come forth for want of a thorough assurance thereof. His Ex$^{cie}$ the Lord Generall ffleetewoode made some demurre (as we have beene informed) of accepting the Gen$^{ll}$ship untill he should bee satisfied of

their full purpose therein, and how farre he recieved satisfaction in y^t^ matter doeth not appeare here. Another consideration lay before them, w^ch^ was y^e^ private state of this army, many officers discharged of their commands w^th^out a court marshiall, and very many more expecting y^e^ like measure; and how to p^r^vent these persons appeareing w^th^ their commands, and attempting a discomposure amongst the fforces, is matter of seriouse advise. In the close they appointed a further debate of this matter to be on this day seaven-night, and in the meanetyme every man in his respective station promise to consider how w^th^ full unanimity it may bee carried on, and to endeavour to remove scruples where they meete w^th^ them, hopeing likewise y^t^ by that time the said declaration may come over, and y^t^ it will bee soe comp^r^hensive of good things, and soe suitable to y^e^ spirit of an army of ffreeborne Englishmen and Gospell professo^rs^, that it will give universall satisfaction. I desire you to give L^t^ Gen^ll^ Ludlow this accompte, and likewise to his Ex^cie^ and to others as you shall receive directions from him.

Yo^r^ affecconate ffriend and servant,

Dublin, 30th October, 1659. JOHN JONES.

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To Generall George Moncke,
att Edinborrough, in Scotland.

S^r^

Your letters and papers by y^e^ bearer to L^t^ Gen^ll^ Ludlowe coming to my hands, who am appointed to Command here in Chieffe in his absence, I have opened, and finding them to be of publique concernm^t^ wherein you desire advise and councell, I have impairted them to the ffield Officers here, who have had longe acquaintance w^th^ you, and a high esteem of yo^r^ merritt, ffrom whom you are to expect very

speedily some account concerning what you are pleased to mencon in yo$^{r}$ said letters, whereof I thought fitt to give you this intimation by your owne messenger, and remayne

Sir, yo$^{r}$ humble servant,

Dublin, 4th November, 1659. JO. JONES.

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S$^{r}$

Yo$^{r}$ letters and papers therein inclosed to Lieu$^{t}$ Gen$^{ll}$ Ludlowe comeing to my hands who am appointed to command y$^{e}$ Army here in his absence, and conceiveing them to be of publique concernem$^{t}$ I have opened and comunicated them unto y$^{e}$ officers of y$^{e}$ army here, who are pleased to joyne w$^{th}$ me in this returne I make unto yo$^{u}$. Upon the first view of them we were very much startled and troubled att y$^{e}$ language you are pleased to use, and y$^{e}$ resolution you seeme to take in a matter of soe high a nature as y$^{e}$ ingageing of three Nations in Warre, and thereby opening a sure way for y$^{e}$ comon Enemie to destroy oure comon Interest as men and Christians and banish Gospell Profession and Professo$^{rs}$ out of o$^{r}$ Land. But finding y$^{e}$ date of those papers to be soe neare y$^{e}$ tyme of that action which you mention as y$^{e}$ ground of yo$^{r}$ resolution. We conceive we have reason to beleeve y$^{t}$ our brotheren in England have given yo$^{u}$ such an accounte of y$^{t}$ matter as have inclined you to a more peaceable and ffreindly temper towards them. However, we desire to be plaine and faithfull in o$^{r}$ advice to you in this matter. That we cannot approve of any resolution of yo$^{rs}$ or any other man w$^{ch}$ may tende to y$^{e}$ ingageing of any part of the Armyes or fforces of these Nations against their Brotheren or to y$^{e}$ divideing of them in interest or affection, being well assured that such a practice wilbe found in the issue to bee nothe-

ing else but the opening of a doore for the comon enemy to come in (whatever faire umbrage may att first bee putt upon it) and destroy those very persons and authority on whose behalfe o$^{r}$ affections incline us to undergoe very greate difficultyes, and therefore we hold it a duety incumbent upon us towards you (as o$^{r}$ hon$^{ble}$ ffriend of whom we have a very high esteeme) and on behalfe of all the people of y$^{e}$ Lord in these three Nations, to beare o$^{r}$ wittnesse against any such resolution or practise, and to improove o$^{r}$ utmost indeavo$^{rs}$ to prevent y$^{e}$ same, and this you will find to be y$^{e}$ resolution and managem$^{t}$ of all yo$^{r}$ ffriends of the English Army here mett att a Councell of Officers soe unanimouse that there was not on negative, as by the inclosed paper will appeare unto yo$^{u}$. And although wee hope y$^{t}$ before this comes to yo$^{r}$ hand there wilbe a right understanding settled betweene o$^{r}$ Brotheren in England and you, yet we p'sume yo$^{u}$ will not judge it unbecomeing us to be very earnest w$^{th}$ yo$^{u}$ to desist any further prosecution of those purposes and to returne those persons yo$^{u}$ have put under restraynt to their duty, and if their be cause for it, wee shalbee ready to apply o$^{r}$ uttmost interest to attayne the Establishm$^{t}$ of a Right understanding and mutuall affection between yo$^{u}$ and o$^{r}$ ffriends in England, and in confidence of yo$^{r}$ ready complyance w$^{th}$ our advise and intreaties, herein we remayne

Yo$^{r}$ very affectionate ffriends and humble servants,

JOHN JONES, HARR. WALLER, THOMAS COOPER,
RICH. LAWRENCE, ROBT. PHAIRE NICH. KEMPTON,
HEN. JONES.

Dublin Novem. 4$^{th}$ 1659.

To Majo$^{r}$ John Barrett.

S$^{r}$

The Councell of Officers here have thought fitt to make choice of you to go as an Expresse from them to Gen$^{ll}$ Moncke. They have caused copies to bee sent you of y$^{e}$ Dispach w$^{ch}$ is to goe w$^{th}$ you, and of such other papers as are come over to us w$^{ch}$ may informe yo$^{u}$ of y$^{e}$ state of matter of ffact concerneing the transactions of those affaires mencioned in y$^{e}$ papers. That you may be y$^{e}$ better able to informe o$^{r}$ ffriends in Scotland of the grounds and reasons of these extraordinary Actings, and dispose them to a peaceable frame of spirit, wherein yo$^{r}$ ffriends here are confident y$^{t}$ the Lord will make you an useful Instrument. They doe not Conceive y$^{t}$ any particular Instructions are needfull for you yo$^{r}$ worke being onely to indeavoure the undeceiveing of o$^{r}$ ffriends and p'vent Breaches betweene them and their Brotheren, who have been soe many years ingaged in one Comon Cause and must stand or fall together. It is desired likewise y$^{t}$ you will settle a course of intelligence betweene o$^{r}$ ffriends in Scotland and us, and in y$^{e}$ meane tyme of yo$^{r}$ returne y$^{t}$ yo$^{u}$ Comunicate unto us the State of Affaires so farre as they come to yo$^{r}$ Knowledge. If you find an opportunity to take up fifty pownds for y$^{e}$ beareing of yo$^{r}$ Chardge in that Expedition, and Chardge it upon y$^{e}$ Treasury in Ulster or att Dublin, care wilbe taken y$^{t}$ it be made good unto yo$^{u}$ w$^{ch}$ being all I have att p'sent to Trouble you I remayne,

Yo$^{r}$ assured ffriende to serve you,

JO. JONES.

Dublin 4$^{th}$ November 1659.

To my honored ffriend Co$^{ll}$ Daniel Axtell to be comunicated unto Co$^{ll}$ Robert Barrowe.

Deare friend,

I am exceedingly obliged unto you for yo$^{r}$ very punctuall Intelligence of Affaires, all my other ffriends except honest Vernon, being silent and myself forgotten of them. Yo$^{r}$ letter this weeke gave the most Articulate and Satisfactory Account of any. The Armyes Declaration hath but a mixed operation amongest us, it is conceived by sober men that the Clawse of Repeale might have been better worded, and a Legislative Expression forborne, and yet the purpose obtained more effectually by shewing the Lawe declared ag$^{t}$ to be destructive to y$^{e}$ Navy our Bullworke ag$^{t}$ forreigne Nations, to the Army o$^{r}$ Strenght and Security ag$^{t}$ o$^{r}$ home and comon Enemy, to the people in opening a doore for free Q$^{rs}$ and sword powere imediately to returne upon them, and y$^{t}$ by necessity the highest and most indispensible Lawe, The Clawse Concerneing Tythes conceived not seasonably inserted, nor thorroughly satisfactory to any. The Good things expected to be insisted upon by them as peculiar blessings to these Nations not att all particularly menconed, but wrapped in Gen$^{lls}$ These things I mencon as the sense of others, that a publication of a more thorough satisfaction may be hastened. Wee are here inquireing and listening after things and substances, and haveing them we can dispence w$^{th}$ fformes and fframes (y$^{e}$ best and most righteous of w$^{ch}$ will in a short tyme decay, and decline from their primitive lustre) (as is experienced in this day) but righteousnesse itselfe and holyness itselfe will never decay, although it may sometimes bee hid as it were under a Cloud of Tyrannouse and oppressive powere. The Officers here conceived fitt that the papers which passed from them to England and Scotland should be printed for y$^{e}$ Information o$^{r}$ ffriends in y$^{e}$ remote parte of this Land, copies

whereof I have sent yo$^{u}$ inclosed. The fayleings y$^{t}$ are in them I must acknowledge as mine ymediately, but mediately as theirs who sett me on worke.

Colonell Cooper is now going to y$^{e}$ North to Comand in those parts, the Lord be his wisdome and strength. The papers for subscriptions were by concent of the Officers presently sent abroade, some Spirits are unquiett, they are mostly such as were unsatisfied att the abolition of the Governem$^{t}$ by a single p'son and recalling of the longe Parliament. The Cavelleeres of all sort are of this temper, and now much raised in their Spirite and hope for Good newes for their King from Scottland, which makes me feare y$^{t}$ poore Moncke is Trepanned, for if he ownes the Interest he will surely be destroyed, wee shall indeavor as the Lord shall inable us to p'serve the peace heare, our fforces are very scant considering y$^{e}$ temper of Ulster and Munster, I pray begge my pardon of my Lord ffleetwood and o$^{r}$ L$^{t}$ Gen$^{ll}$ Ludlow y$^{t}$ I cannot write unto them. Wee shall be observant of their Comands, and be pleased to acquainte them w$^{th}$ soe much of the contents hereof as yo$^{u}$ judge fitt for thier cognizance or p'usall, remember y$^{t}$ wee want power to putt Lawes in execution for p'servation of y$^{e}$ peace, punishing Murtherers, distributeing Justice, Relieving dispoyled English, and noe man layeth our condicon to heart, Ireland quite forgotten in the proclamation sett out by the Com$^{tee}$ of safety.

Yo$^{r}$ most affectionate friend really to serve yo$^{w}$,

JO. JONES.

My deare love to Vernan w$^{th}$ thankes for his remembrance of mee.

Dublin, 8d. 9m., 1659.

To Co$^{ll}$ Robert Barrow, w$^{th}$ an inclosed.

S$^{r}$

I have noe tyme to inlarge. The inclosed in short is o$^{r}$ Condition, and questionlesse its sadd. Comunicate it as yo$^{w}$ see Cawse. It is w$^{th}$out question y$^{t}$ Ch. S$^{t}$ his Interest is endeav$^{r}$d to be sett up here, and believed y$^{t}$ the same will be advanced in Scottland, for the Cavailleer Spirit is y$^{e}$ lively Spirit, and they carry it as if a day of greate redemption to them drew neigh. If y$^{e}$ Lord were not of o$^{r}$ side, may we now say we should be suddainely destroyed by them. Get an ymediate Ord$^{r}$ to recruit these fforces, that wee may not be found neglecting the meanes. Wee have noe exact Intelligence how Affaires goe in England, nor what to declare for if there were need. Wee are undone for want of Power to administer Justice.

A copie of M$^{r}$ Waring's Intelligence.

Haveing further inquired into y$^{e}$ newes I gave yo$^{u}$ lately an acc$^{t}$ of, I am informed y$^{t}$ it is thus, one Bryan Roe O'Neale, a brother son of Owen O'Neale, late Gen$^{ll}$ to the Irish, hath written a l're out of Hispaine (by a special messenger of M$^{r}$ Donolys) to one Artt. Oge O'Neale Jorloghliney, now liveing in the County of Leitrim, and a person known to Colonell Barrowe when he was prisoner. The contents thereof is y$^{t}$ Ch. S$^{t}$ is turned Papist, and is furnished w$^{th}$ a greate supply of Men and Money to invade England suddainly, w$^{ch}$ they question not but to carry easily, and for their furtherance have desired prayers att all Masses in Ireland, for w$^{ch}$ purpose a copie of the letter is dispersed through all Ireland where they have any Priests, and w$^{th}$all another paper from the Chiefe of their Clergy in Ireland to Curse all the Irish y$^{t}$ shall in any way assist y$^{e}$ English by Intelligence or otherwise, w$^{ch}$ is put in execution by them. Thus I have given yo$^{w}$ (as far as I can) a full Accompt of all.

S^r^

This intelligence comes from a good hand, compare y^t^ you have from abroad. If the truth of this can be made out, there might be good use made of it in makeing it publique, to undeceive our English friends who are ready to bring ruine upon themselves, by being fooled into an ingagem^t^ for the restoreing of the Long Parliament, not as it last mett, for some of the most ingenious of them confesse they were not satisfyed in their authority, since y^e^ exclusion of y^e^ major pte of their members and y^e^ House of Lords, soe y^t^ it is very evident y^t^ Ch. S^t.^ is intended by the designers to be brought under y^e^ covert of y^e^ Longe Parliam^t^ for there are noe greater friends to a single Governm^t^ then the excluded members of both Houses. I doe not find one man opening his mouth for restoreing y^e^ Long Parliam^t^ as they last mett.

Excuse me both our Gen^lls.^
My hands are full. The
inclosed gives y^em^ y^e^ state
of things here.

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S^r^

This day is very gloomy w^th^ us, and seemes to portend a very sad tyme approaching from Carrigfergus. It intimated that newes is come to them by a Scottish merchant y^t^ Major Crisp hath secured one Markes Eyre for Monck, and y^t^ Coll. Sawry and his Lieut. Coll. are fledd. The High Sherriefe of the Queenes County hath chardged the collectors of y^e^ assessm^ts^ at their pill not to collect them, The like is done in Ulster, and it's conceived there wilbe a gen^ll^ defection by the inhabitants. The forces in y^e^ worst posture imaginable, very many Troopes and Companyes their Officers unfixed, and being in expectation to be

casheered, are very much incensed and yet continue in y^e^ head of their comands, and this is the condition of some of yo^r^ chief Guarrissons, all the fforces soe placed in Guarrissons and Plantations that we cannot draw out 500 horse and 1000 foote in any one place in Ireland without indangering y^e^ ruine of y^e^ Quarters from whence they should be drawen out. Some designe supposed to be on foot for the restoreing of some friends to comand y^t^ w^ch^ I dare not menton w^h^out further light. Private meetings give cause of suspition. W^th^out wee bee in such a condicion of security as to be able to draw together into Ulster 500 horse and 1000 foote, and the like number into Munster, and as many in the head Quarters w^th^out hazarding o^r^ Guarrisons, we cannot have any confidence in o^r^ outward strength. It is good we have a good God to trust to. I think it were adviseable y^t^ Ord^ces^ should be sent hither for y^e^ recruiting of y^e^ Troopes to 70, and the Companyes to 100, and y^t^ some course be taken to pay them till this calamitouse hower is over. The Lord be yo^r^ wisedome and strength, that o^r^ Land may have cawse to rejoyce in you.

Yo^r^ humble servant,

Dublin, 15^th^ Nov., 1659. JOHN JONES.

Wee are here undone for want of Power to Administer Justice and noe man layeth o^r^ condicon to heart.

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To Lieu^t^ Colonell Scott.

Worthy Sir,

I have according to yo^r^ request sent yo^u^ the inclosed, and heartily wish y^t^ the Lord may Guide yo^u^ in yo^r^ way and Resolutions; The dissatisfaction yo^u^ had (when I sawe yo^u^ last) touching the Legallity of y^t^ Power then dis-

coursed of, or compleatnesse thereof as then it acted, makes me somew$^{t}$ to doubte w$^{t}$ yo$^{u}$ meane by restoreing y$^{e}$ p'sent Parliam$^{t}$ to their just Rights & Priviledges. Whether to y$^{e}$ same condicon they were in when they were last interrupted in October, or to the compleatnesse of three Estates, according to y$^{e}$ auncient usadge & Custome of England, I cannot believe you intend y$^{t}$ wherein yo$^{u}$ had noe satisfaction. And I am confident yo$^{u}$ are very sensible that the attempting of the other will bring ruine and desolation upon us, & the Cawse in w$^{ch}$ wee have been engaged soe many yeares, and y$^{t}$ free Parliam$^{ts}$ & restoreing of them y$^{t}$ is but a faire umbridge devised by the common Enemy to disguise a wicked designe to bring in Ch: S$^{t.}$ and soe I Cannot beleeve yo$^{u}$ intend y$^{t}$ neither, and untill I am better informed I Cannot answer y$^{t}$ part of yo$^{r}$ l$^{re}$. As touching the comaund yo$^{u}$ mention I have not taken upon me to alter any, but leave them as I found them disposed by him whose place I now supply. Beare w$^{th}$ my hast, & esteeme mee

Yo$^{r}$ assured friend to serve you,

Dublin, 17$^{th}$ Nov., 1659. J. JONES.

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To his Excellencie L$^{t}$ Gen$^{ll}$ Ludlowe.

Deare S$^{r,}$

I have not much businesse to give yo$^{u}$ an acc$^{t}$ of from hence. The last night I sent out Summons to all y$^{e}$ Coll$^{s}$ and Capt$^{s}$ of Troopes & Companyes in Ireland to meete w$^{th}$ y$^{e}$ Officers of y$^{eir}$ respective Regiments to Chose Members for y$^{e}$ Gen$^{ll}$ Councell, menconed in y$^{e}$ third Article of the Agreem$^{t.}$ Wee could not proceede sooner in this Election, because y$^{e}$ Agreem$^{t}$ Came not to us untill Saturday y$^{e}$ 26$^{th,}$ late at night, by M$^{r}$ Payne the Messenger. There be many symptoms of an Unquiet Spirit indea-

vouring to bring us into trouble. Ardres Treav$^{r}$ and many others (amonge whom D$^{r}$ George was) had their Meetings in y$^{e}$ North from Howse to Howse, beginning at Hillsborow for about 14 dayes, Scottish Papers industriously scattered. Such of o$^{r}$ Army as were formerly Cavalleeres or new Royallistes, and were positively ag$^{t}$ y$^{e}$ restoreing of y$^{e}$ longe Parliam$^{t}$, & would have hindered it if they Cold runne much into y$^{t}$ fframe of Spirit for dividing of us, and setting us in opposition to y$^{e}$ Army in England, under y$^{e}$ Notion of being for a Parliam$^{t}$ the sence whereof & y$^{e}$ Scope of y$^{e}$ Designe is in all probability but y$^{e}$ same y$^{t}$ S$^{r}$ George Booth & his confederats indeavour to Carry on, w$^{ch}$ although Crushed in England is kept intyre in Ireland, wayteing for an opportunity by reason y$^{t}$ none of the Instrum$^{ts}$ w$^{ch}$ probabley were to Carry it on have beene incapacitated or Cleereley discovered. S$^{r}$ Since the perusall of yo$^{r}$ last l$^{'res}$ to me, & of another to my Brother, I have been much troubled y$^{t}$ I should be soe uncharitably Censured by you before I had admittance to speake for my selfe. I thank God I have a faithfull Witnesse w$^{th}$in me, testifying that I am not much in love w$^{th}$ the Hono$^{r}$ of my Implym$^{t}$ That I never sought it, That I gain nothing by it, That I have hitherto indeavoured to dischardge y$^{e}$ duty of y$^{e}$ place w$^{th}$ all faithfullnesse & Integrity, and y$^{t}$ nothing moved me to accept this Burthen but a willingnesse to appeare serviceable unto you. If I have fayled in answering yo$^{r}$ Expectation It proceed not from unfaithfullnesse or want of love, but from weakenesse & want of discretion, wherein men of greater Reason and foresight than my selfe may fayle. But really S$^{r}$ I am not Convinced wherein I am Guilty of deserting the Parliam$^{t}$ who sent mee hither, & by whose Authority I now Act, or of doeing of any Act tending to the diminution of their Hono$^{r}$ or Authority. Am not I equally concerned (allthough unworthy) w$^{th}$ any

Member of y$^{t}$ Councell in the Hono$^{r}$ & reputation thereof. Whatever yo$^{u}$ are pleased to judge of me, I doe on yo$^{r}$ behalfe blesse y$^{e}$ Lord y$^{t}$ yo$^{u}$ were freed from y$^{e}$ Snare of such a Turne as this, although I know yo$^{u}$ would have managed those affayres w$^{th}$ more Wisdome & better successe then at p'sent they are, for by y$^{t}$ meanes yo$^{u}$ are freed from the censures of other men, & in a capacity to helpe yo$^{r}$ ffriends. As touching the l$^{re}$ sent to Scotland it was mine only, as a Serv$^{t}$ to y$^{e}$ Army, drawen by the direction of y$^{e}$ Officers p'sent, and signed by them w$^{th}$ my selfe, and I cannot find y$^{t}$ any thing in it disrespects y$^{e}$ Parliam$^{t}$, or publique safety w$^{ch}$ is above Parliam$^{ts}$, that o$^{r}$ Armyes should engage ag$^{t}$ one another in blood. It is the grand designe of o$^{r}$ Comon Enemy, & y$^{e}$ ready way to y$^{e}$ utter ruine of these Three Nations, & of y$^{e}$ Interest of Christ in them, and to be silent in such a Case was to be wickedly sinfull. The letter pointed att any other as well as Moncke y$^{t}$ should attempt such a design. It could not be for the Hono$^{r}$ or Interest of y$^{e}$ Parliam$^{t}$ y$^{t}$ soe many Godly Officers should be taken from their Comands, and imprisoned, &c. As touching the Subscriptions I find yo$^{u}$ doe not understand how it was. The Papers Came hither inclosed in l$^{res}$ & directed to the respective Chiefe Officers of each Regim$^{t}$ Att the first meeting of y$^{e}$ Officers many were earnest to have their Packetts, But the Debate was adjourned to y$^{t}$ day senight, to give way for o$^{r}$ attendance on my L$^{d}$ Steele and Colonell Barrowe to y$^{e}$ Waterside. Att the next meeting w$^{th}$out any further Debate every Officer tooke his owne Packett, conceiveing y$^{t}$ they ought not to bee kept from, and y$^{t}$ it rested in their discretion what to doe w$^{th}$ them, soe y$^{t}$ herein I was least Concerned of any. Yo$^{u}$ were pleased to write unto mee when you were upon yo$^{r}$ way to London, y$^{t}$ if those now in power would resolve to establish honest righteouse things yo$^{u}$ would w$^{th}$ y$^{em}$, if not yo$^{u}$ would take

yo$^{r}$ Retirement. I have had noe other intimation from you w$^{ch}$ might be an example for me to follow, w$^{ch}$ really I am inclined in most things to doe. Truely S$^{r}$ I have by this tyme tyred my self in writinge, & I am affrayed y$^{r}$ patience in reading w$^{t}$ I have scribled betwixt sleeping & wakeing, being streightened in Tyme, & full of the Sence of w$^{t}$ you have writt, that I beleeve yo$^{u}$ will find little sence in this. I shall take leave to close w$^{th}$ this Request, y$^{t}$ if you find me not to answer yo$^{r}$ Expectation, or y$^{t}$ you thinke this Trust may be more serviceable in another hand, be pleased freely to remove yo$^{r}$ Comand from me, and I shall indeavo$^{r}$ in any other Capacity as well as in this wherein I now stand to approve my selfe really, S$^{r}$.

Yo$^{r}$ most affectionat freind &
faithfull servant,
JOHN JONES.

Dublin, 30$^{th}$ Novem., 1659.

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S$^{r}$

I am advised by the Com$^{rs}$ of y$^{e}$ Comonwealth & the Councell of Offic$^{rs}$ here to comunicate unto you the enclosed paper, being a copie of y$^{e}$ Agreem$^{t}$ of y$^{e}$ Gen$^{ll}$ Councell of Offic$^{rs}$ of y$^{e}$ Armyes in England, &c., and from y$^{e}$ Com$^{rs}$ sent from Gen$^{ll}$ Moncke and y$^{e}$ Gen$^{ll}$ Councell of Offic$^{rs}$ in Scottland, w$^{ch}$ came to my hand but the last night, and for the effectuall execution of y$^{e}$ third Article in y$^{e}$ same. It is ordered that yo$^{r}$selfe, and y$^{e}$ Comission Offic$^{rs}$ of yo$^{r}$ Company (haveing a care to leave yo$^{r}$ Garrison in a safe posture) be and appeare on the . . . . . day of December next, att . . . . . and there joyne w$^{th}$ the rest of the Comission Offic$^{rs}$ of your Regim$^{t}$ in

y^e^ chusing of two Comission Offic^rs^ for y^e^ same Regim^t^ to to be Members of y^e^ Gen^ll^ Councell, mencioned in y^e^ s^d^ third Article. Hereof you are not to faile.

Yo^r^ assured Friend,

Dublin, 28th of Nov. 1659. JOHN JONES.

For y^e^ tymes and places for each Regim^t^ to meete, see a list of y^e^ matter conteying the names of y^e^ Regim^ts^ in generall, and their tymes and places for y^t^ service.

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To Coll. Thomas Lord Cooper.

S^r^

I have, by the joynte Advise of y^e^ Com^rs^ of this Comon-wealth and of as many Offic^rs^ of y^e^ Army as are in Towne att p'sent, appointed severall places for the Comission Officers of every respective Regim^t^ or of as many of them as can well be spared from their duty, to meete upon a Certaine day likewise appointed, and being soe mett, to elect two Comission Offic^rs^ for every respective Regim^t^ to be and appeare at a Gen^l^ Councell, to be holden att Whitehall, y^e^ 6^th^ of December next, according to y^e^ Tennor of y^e^ Third Article in y^e^ inclosed paper. Y^e^ tyme & place of meeting appointed for y^e^ Officers of yo^r^ Regim^t^ in order to y^e^ said service, is att Newry, upon y^e^ 6^th^ day of December next. I have, for y^e^ more effectuall and expeditiousse performance of this Service (by y^e^ s^d^ advise), sent notice, by letters, unto each Troope & Company in each Regim^t^ in Irel^d^ of y^e^ respective tymes, places and occasion of their meetings. The managem^t^ of y^e^ Election, and y^e^ returning of y^e^ names of y^e^ p'sons w^ch^ shalbe elected for yo^r^ Regim^ts^ to my selfe, w^th^ all possible speede, is left to yo^r^ Care. It is desired by such of o^r^ ffriends as long for peace and settle-

m^t upon y^e foundacons of love, Trueth and Righteousnesse, y^t we should endeavo^r to have such men elected as have y^e largest portion of a meeke, loveing, peaceable, healing spirit, such as delight not to nourish or uphold a spirit of contencon or by a law to impose their judgem^t or practice in matters of Religion in other men's consciences. I am likewise to recomend to yo^r observation y^t y^e inclosed Agreem^t doth not require y^t y^e Officers to be chosen should be of every respective Regim^t for w^ch they are Chosen; any Comission Offic^r of y^e Army is capable to be elected, and conceived adviseable, as well for expedition as avoiding unnecessary Charge, y^t as many of y^e Officers of y^e Army as are in England, Capable of being elected, and fitly qualified, should be chosen to serve in y^e Councell—it being very probable y^t y^e worke of y^e Councell wilbe at an end before any from hence can repayre thyther, And haveing to use his freedome in debate and choise, and y^t all o^r endeavo^rs may be att those meetings to be united in freindship and mutall love towards each other, w^thout w^ch we are not farr from ruine. The Emissaryes of o^r comon Enemy and his confederates being att this instant very busy in all corners of y^e Three Nations, especially in this Land, in sending forth Libells and Seditiouse papers to divide us amongst o'selves; But if y^e Lord have pleasure in us, he will defeat their councells, and bring them to shame and Trouble who delight in Troubles and divisions.

Yo^r assured Freind to serve you,

JOHN JONES.

Dublin, 29^th Nov., 59.

Post: I desire y^e returne may be under y^e hands of all y^e Offic^rs consenting.

To the Right Hon^ble^ Roger L^d^ Broghill.

S^r^

The favo^r^ of yo^r^ Lo^pps^ l'^re^ of y^e^ 25^th^ instant I received, and doe very much approve of yo^r^ Lo^pps^ Judgement y^t^ y^e^ best seale to y^e^ Agreem^t^ wilbe the immediate restoreing of y^e^ Suspended Offic^rs^ to their respective commands, and untill y^t^ be actually done, We may feare y^t^ some of o^r^ ffreinds may be under Temptations, because those y^t^ have been ag^t^ o^r^ common Cause and Interest are very much exalted in their hopes of y^e^ issue of these Capitulations and distances. The last Paquett brought us noe further acc^t^ of y^t^ matter, but y^t^ all things Continue quiett and receavable in England. The L^d^ ffleetewood sent over y^e^ Agreem^t^ w^th^ his Advise, that wee should proceed in y^e^ election of members for the Gen^ll^ Councell of Offic^rs^ w^eh^ are to meete att Whitehall, according to y^e^ Tenn^r^ of y^e^ Third Article, but Crosse Windes stayed the messenger at the Waterside till Saturday last, Soe y^t^ y^e^ tyme of meeteing att Whitehall is Come upon us before wee canne have any Regimental meetings of o^r^ Offic^rs^; neverthelesse I have sent l'^res^ to all y^e^ Troopes & Companyes in every respective Regim^t^ now in Ireland, w^th^ a copie of y^e^ Agreem^t^ and appointed y^e^ respective Tymes & places for their meetings. That in pursuance of y^e^ said Article they might proceed to elect, as y^e^ inclosed papers will more p'ticularly informe you. Your Lo^pps^ Troope being not Regimented, I have noething to direct me how their suffrages should be taken—the Agreem^t^ being silent therein—whether this and others in y^e^ same case be omitted by inadvertency or of purpose I know not. Coll. Wallis, his Regim^t^ being the Horse, in yo^r^ Quarters, are to meete at Clonmell, on y^e^ 7^th^ of this moneth, Coll Zanbye's Regim^t^ meete at Cashell y^e^ same. What yo^r^ Lo^pp^ Conceive fitt to bee done in this Case I humbly submitt to yo^r^ Wisdome. I am of opinion y^t^ y^e^

worke of y^e^ Councell wilbe neither done or undone before any can repayre thyther from Ireland. The nature of y^e^ worke and y^e^ p'sent state of things will admitt of noe longe Debate or divideings in Councell. If the Lord hath pleasure in us, he will guide them in Councell, and make them Instrum^ts^ to Establish Justice and Righteousnesse in o^r^ Land.

I am, My Lord,

Yo^r^ affectionate and humble Ser^t^

JOHN JONES.

Dublin, 1^st^ December, 1659.

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To his Ex^cie^ the L^d^ Gen^ll^ ffleetwood.

May it please yo^r^ Ex^cie^

I made boulde formerly to crave yo^r^ Ex^cies^ order for y^e^ withdrawing of Cap^t^ Moulds Company from Beaumares there being no neede of them there, and we extreamly want ffoote. I did likewise mynd yo^r^ Lo^pp^ that y^e^ new Recruits at Beaumares are in a starveing Condition, & humbly desired y^t^ Some Speedie provition might be made for them, and I make bold now humbly further to Crave That yo^r^ Ex^cie^ will be pleased to order a Recruit of 100 Musketts for y^t^ Garison, the 50 old Musketts being delivered into yo^r^ Stores, I cannot see how y^t^ Garison can be recruited, but from hence you may be pleased to signifie yo^r^ pleasure herein, & it wilbee readily obeyed.

The publique afiaires here att p'sent in a quiet posture, but very sad practises used to divide yo^r^ fforces here whereof you had full intimation by y^e^ last, many honest men are fooled into this designe, w^ch^ hath its Roote & life in Ch: S^t^ Interest, ffor the Polititians whose hopes are onely in o^r^ Armyes Divitions know y^t^ Armyes once

thoroughly divided in termes of Opposition will never Cordially unite, and y$^{t}$ CounceHs w$^{th}$out fforce to justify them are insignificant, drive on furiously to perswade freinds to an opposition to y$^{e}$ English Army in ord$^{r}$ to y$^{e}$ restitution of y$^{e}$ Parliam$^{t}$ but doe not declare w$^{t}$ Parliam$^{t}$ and therein lyes a fallacy ffor y$^{e}$ best of those y$^{t}$ seeme thus zealouse for a Parliam$^{t}$ were ag$^{t}$ y$^{e}$ restitution of y$^{e}$ longe Parliam$^{t}$ to their last sitting. Wee have noe direction how to deale w$^{th}$ men of unquiett Spiritte, & we are unwilling to use Power w$^{th}$out some positive direction, w$^{ch}$ we shall waite for, I beseech y$^{r}$ Lo$^{pp}$ to conferre w$^{th}$ Lt. Gen$^{ll}$ Ludlowe for y$^{e}$ restoreing of Lt. Coll. fflowere to some Command, hee is a man y$^{t}$ will die att yo$^{r}$ ffeete, and utterly declines associating w$^{th}$ any discontented p'ty. Bee pleased to afford some signification of yo$^{r}$ pleasure concerning him. This is the first day of the Election of Members in Ireland, yo$^{r}$ comands fayling to come to us, tymely enough and because it is not probable y$^{t}$ any Can Come from Ireland before the Councell breake up, I beleeve most of o$^{r}$ Elections will fall upon o$^{r}$ ffriends now in England. Those y$^{t}$ would rejoice in o$^{r}$ Troubles give out That L$^{t}$ Gen$^{ll}$ and my L$^{d}$ Steele are highly dissatisfied, that Gen$^{ll}$ Moncke utterly refuseth to Confirme the Agreem$^{t}$ made by his Officers, That he calls a Convention in Scotland, and raises very large Taxes, and Baggage horses, & refuseth to restore y$^{e}$ Officers to their Comand, & many such like Reports, w$^{ch}$ make y$^{e}$ Cavallieres exceedingly to rejoyce, being confident y$^{t}$ Ch: S$^{t}$ his Interest cannot bee prevented, there being noe other Interest intyre in y$^{e}$ Three Nations, That y$^{e}$ Parliam$^{t}$ if it should be restored to sitt againe will never agree w$^{th}$ this Army as now conducted, and therefore either y$^{e}$ Army or Parliam$^{t}$ must be layd asside. That if y$^{e}$ Army be layd aside, another Army must be raised of other principles, and

those wilbee such as Countenanced S$^{r}$ George Booth's designe (viz$^{t}$) Cavalleeres under y$^{e}$ maske of a Presbiterian Interest, such as would have the peace established on y$^{e}$ Concessions at the Isle of Weight. These are y$^{e}$ hopes & Expectations of y$^{e}$ Wicked. But o$^{r}$ Trust is in y$^{e}$ L$^{d}$ who turnes y$^{e}$ Wisedome of men into folly. I beseech you by y$^{e}$ next to remove as many of these reports as you find to be false, by Comanding some person to give a right State of things. Whatsoever y$^{e}$ Lord directs you to doe, att yo$^{r}$ Generall Councell doe it quickly, Delayes and longe Debates are exceedingly dangerouse, if y$^{e}$ Spring overtake you before yo$^{u}$ come to a Settlem$^{t}$ I cannot see how yo$^{u}$ will avoyd ruine according to y$^{e}$ reasonings of man.

Yo$^{r}$ Ex$^{cies}$ humble servant,

Dublin, 6$^{th}$ December, 1659. JOHN JONES.

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To his Ex$^{cie}$ L$^{t}$ Gen$^{ll}$ Ludlowe.

S$^{r}$

ffinding here one Mr. William Courtney, a Brother to o$^{r}$ good friend Mr. Hugh Courtney, in a very low and necessitouse condicon, and also finding an Ensignes place voyd by meanes of y$^{e}$ death of one of y$^{t}$ Capacity in Co$^{ll}$ Sanders Company, soe returned on a muster taken since yo$^{r}$ Lo$^{pps}$ going over, I have presumed to place this Mr. Courtney in y$^{t}$ imploym$^{t}$ and to y$^{t}$ Company w$^{ch}$ I thought fitt to acquaint yo$^{u}$ w$^{th}$ all, desireing y$^{t}$ if yo$^{r}$ Lo$^{pp}$ doe aprove thereof you will please to send over (by y$^{e}$ next opportunity) yo$^{r}$ order confirming the same, the younge man hath very good parts, and hath behaved himselfe well since he came into this country, w$^{ch}$ is about seaven yeares. I am not att rest in my spirit until I have heard from yo$^{u}$ I am perswaded were yo$^{u}$ here you would

doe noe otherwise than wee have done. Truely S$^{r}$ the scope of a Designe is best understood (by them y$^{t}$ are not in it) by y$^{e}$ persons y$^{t}$ Carry it on, of w$^{t}$ Principles they are and by y$^{e}$ reports they give out, I shall not inlarge att this p'sent upon this Theame, having given you y$^{e}$ like Trouble soe lately. Send you yo$^{r}$ ord$^{r}$ in w$^{t}$ you would have done, and I doubte not but you will recieve satisfaction from yo$^{r}$ Servants here, I have written to my Lord ffleetwood, to intreate his Lo$^{pp}$ to conferre w$^{th}$ yo$^{r}$ Ex$^{cie}$ about y$^{e}$ restoreing of L$^{t}$ Co$^{ll}$ fflower to some Command. Hee is a man thoroughly faithfull, and one y$^{t}$ doeth not att all Consort w$^{th}$ those y$^{t}$ are malignantly affected. Unheard of crueltyes comitted by Torryes every night. The Irish Concieved in a greate readinesse to rise. The Brittish in ffermanagh about Lesnabeaugh, were in Armes last weeke, to y$^{e}$ number of 240 horse well mounted: pretended in their owne defence ag$^{t}$ y$^{e}$ Irish, but suspected upon some intimation from Scotland.

There hath beene an indeavo$^{r}$ to disaffect every Troope & Company in Ireland, under y$^{e}$ notion of giving Countenance to Moncke. The Two Comp in Carregfergus mutinied, & were soe high y$^{t}$ noething cold allay y$^{em}$ but fforce: Co$^{ll}$ Cooper & y$^{e}$ Officers were faine w$^{th}$ their naked swords & pistells to fforce them to their Quart$^{rs}$ I am loath to mention w$^{t}$ acceptation y$^{t}$ disord$^{r}$ had amongst some persons here, who are looked upon as freinds. I hope y$^{e}$ Lord wilbee p'esent w$^{th}$ yo$^{u}$ att your great Councell, w$^{oh}$ meete this day, & y$^{t}$ hee will direct yo$^{u}$ to a speedy settlem$^{t}$ ffor I am cleare of this Judgem$^{t}$ that a breach in y$^{t}$ Councell, or a longe delay in pointe of coming to a resolution, whereby y$^{e}$ Spring may come upon us before a settlem$^{t}$ be declared, will enevitably bring in Ch: S$^{t}$ for thereby all Interest wilbee broken but his, and his wilbee intyre in y$^{e}$ Three Nations, and all Presbiterian and other Interests w$^{oh}$ can

consist w^th^ y^t^ Interest will joyne to it, and how large y^t^ wilbee is easily discoerned by y^e^ Countenancers of S^r^ G. B. his designe, both in City & Countrey amongst Ministers, & all other sorts of People. I have noe Tyme to inlarge although I am very full of this apprehention.

Yo^r^ very reall & humble Servant,

Dublin, 6 December, 1659. JOHN JONES.

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To the L^d^ Henry Cromwell.

S^r^

Mr. Wood being to waite upon yo^u^ gives me y^e^ opportunity of acknowledging y^e^ favo^r^ of yo^r^ lettere, and as to y^e^ contens of them soe farre as they relate to publique Interest, It becomes me not to returne any Acc^t^ thereof, in any other way then by the Resolutions of y^e^ Board, onely I begge leave humbly to informe yo^r^ Lo^pp^ that I have inquired and cannot finde why yo^r^ Servants made any Complaynt y^t^ they were Threatened to be turned out of Cork Howse. The Title indeed hath been a little debated upon some thoughts of useing y^e^ Howse for Com^rs^ sitting as formerly and not for any Mans private acomodation. And it was then conceived y^t^ if there were a forraigne Tytle Claymed ag^t^ the Common Wealthe many yeares po^st^ yo^r^ Lo^pp^ was most incompetent of any to purchase such a Title in regard yo^u^ were chiefely intrusted by y^e^ Comon Wealth to mayntayne their Interest in Ireland, & came into possession of y^t^ Howse as belonging to y^e^ Comon Wealth & under y^t^ Trust. And likewise because about 2000^£^ was disbursed out of y^e^ publique Trery as we were informed upon y^e^ repayreing, inlargeing and fitting of y^t^ Howse for publique use and especially for yo^r^ personall accomodation as being the Chiefe Magistrate, yet notw^th^standing that these and other argum^ts^

for y^e^ justifying of y^e^ Comon Wealths Right to the said House were in consideration w^th^ y^e^ Com^rs^. They have not soe much as inquired when yo^r^ ffamilie was to remove thence, but had a very tender & due Respect to yo^r^ Lo^pp^, and really this is all I know of y^t^ matter.

Wee have of late beene excersised under very unpleaseinge dispensations, The confidence w^ch^ men should have in each other uppon acc^t^ of Relation or friendship have beene soe shaken, That instead of mutuall manifestations of love and kindnesse, Jelousies & diffidences have too frequently been fomented amongst ffriends by y^e^ projections of such as sought themselves more than y^e^ comon good, under w^ch^ unhappie influence I have beene for some yeares past, w^ch^ deprived me of much of y^t^ sweetness & comfort w^ch^ y^e^ Lord in his Good Providence towards me did seeme to promise by that Hon^ble^ Relation unto w^ch^ I was admitted, The sence of w^ch^ I hope will ever ingage mee to strive for another frame of Spirit, And as God shall administer an opportunity to endevo^r^ to bee serviceable unto those to whom I am related, & especially to yo^r^ Lo^pp^ of whom (w^th^out flattery) I have a very greate Esteeme and doe account it a duety incumbent upon me, and all that professe y^e^ name of Christ, to promote union, peace and love betweene Relations, and to beare o^r^ Witnesse against divideing Principles & Practices amongst those that feare the Lord. In the pursuite thereof I shall ever remayne,

Yo^r^ Lo^pps^ most affectionate and
most humble servant,

Decem. 10^th^ 1659. JO. JONES.

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To S^r^ Hardres Waller, Kn^t^ &c.

S^r^

The sense I have of y^e^ ruine and desolation w^ch^ the English Interest and people will inevitably be brought unto,

by that Rash Action lately comitted By those whom yo$^{u}$ have comissioned for y$^{t}$ end, Which tends to the Engageing of y$^{e}$ English fforces in Ireland, one against another, The casting off the English Governm$^{t}$ & Parliamentary Authority in this nation, and by yo$^{r}$ assuming a Power of Legislature to Comand the fforces as Major Gen$^{all}$ of y$^{e}$ Army, and to give Comissions for Comands to some, and deprive others of their Comands, contrary to the Rules & discipline of Warr, (having never had any Comission or authority for yo$^{r}$ soe doing) and by yo$^{r}$ interrupting y$^{e}$ Com$^{rs}$ of Parliam$^{t}$ in y$^{e}$ manadgem$^{t}$ of the Governm$^{t}$ & Interest of England in Ireland, by putting fforce upon them, yo$^{e}$ doe indeavo$^{r}$ to make y$^{e}$ Governm$^{t}$ of Ireland, distinct from y$^{t}$ of England, and thereby to start a Warr betweene the Two Nations, and to deprive y$^{e}$ Army and fforces of Ireland of their Reliefe, pay, and other immunityes which they enjoy as being Englishmen & members of y$^{e}$ Army of England, yo$^{u}$ doe likewise by this meanes shew an easy way for Ch: St: to invade this Land, and by y$^{e}$ assistance of his Irish, British, and other Confederats in Ireland, utterly to destroy y$^{e}$ English Inhabitants, and make y$^{e}$ period of y$^{e}$ English Interest in Ireland more bloody than the beginning of the late horrid Rebellion, you returne y$^{e}$ Sould$^{rs}$ to ffree billett & y$^{e}$ next step wilbee the taking of ffree quarter & thereby yo$^{u}$ Act Contrary to y$^{e}$ known Law in y$^{t}$ Particular (haveing noe necessity putt upon yo$^{u}$ for yo$^{r}$ soe doeing) By w$^{ch}$ Practise yo$^{u}$ make y$^{e}$ poore Sould$^{rs}$ to bee hated by the Inhabitants of y$^{e}$ Land, I say y$^{e}$ sad sense I have upon my Spirit of the matters abovesaid. The respect I have to yo$^{r}$ Person & family being exceeding desirous (if y$^{e}$ will of y$^{e}$ Lord be soe) to be instrumentall in rescueing you from this impending ruine w$^{ch}$ probably will reach you (although others have a way to escape) if not speedily prevented, by offering unto you a seasonable word of advice, and likewise y$^{e}$

duety I conceive incumbent upon mee, as much as in mee lies, to prevent the said Evills, by Exercising the Power put into my hand for the Comanding & ordering of the fforces in this Land, hath inforced mee to give yo^u^ this Trouble, and to require you & I doe in y^e^ name of the Parliament of the Comonwealth of England, (and by vertue of y^e^ Power and authority to mee dericted from the same) hereby require yo^u^ imediately upon receipt hereof to issue out Orders to require all the fforces of Horse and ffoote, which are marched to this Towne, or are upon their march, (w^th^out speciall ord^rs^ from myselfe) imediately to returne to their respective Quartr^s^ where they were Ordered to quarter y^e^ Tenth present, and thereto continue till they receive further Ord^rs^ from myselfe or from L^t^ Gen^ll^ Ludlowe or from y^e^ Com^rs^ of Parliam^t^ & that you cawse the said Ord^rs^ to be effectually put in Execution for y^e^ incouradgem^t^ & p'servation of y^e^ English Inhabitants, and secureing the publique peace. And likewise you are hereby required by vertue of the Authority aforesaid to cawse all Persons not being members of y^e^ Army, who have appeared in Armes, to countenance or assist the surprisall of this castle, to lay downe their Armes, & retourne to their respective Habitations, upon payne of being declared Rebels against the Comon Wealth of England, To order all Offic^rs^ both of Horse and ffoote to retourne to their respective Comands, and y^t^ yo^u^ doe imediately sett y^e^ Com^rs^ of ye Comon Wealth for ye Goverment of this Land into a condition of liberty, whereby they may p'forme the Trust reposed in them by the Parliam^t^ All w^ch^ I require of yo^u^ as yo^u^ are y^e^ Person y^t^ takes upon yo^u^ y^e^ Excersise of y^e^ place of Major^r^ Gen^ell^ as yo^u^ answere y^e^ contrary att yo^r^ uttmost Perill. Dated at y^e^ Castle of Dublin, this nineteenth day of December, 1659.

J. JONES.

To S^r^ Mathew Tomlison, Knight, &c.

S^r^

This disorder is like to produce very sadd Consequences. The Troopes & Companyes are drawne out of their respective Quarters & are marched & marching to this Towne upon promises of receiving three monethes pay in hand, w^ch^ is a thing impossible to bee performed, and from whence will followe an imediate ruine to y^e^ English in their plantations, by the Toryes, who will growe into such strength as will enable them to justifie themselves, & open a new Warr upon y^e^ English, and thereby give an entrance to Ch: St: his Confederates. This will likewise follow that y^e^ Troopes coming up here and y^e^ incouradgem^t^ promised being not made good unto them, They will fall foule upon y^e^ Citie or att least upon such as wilbee represented unto them as Adversaryes, and I believe M^r^ Winter's congregation will not escape, To p^r^vent w^ch^ I have sent last night to S^r^ Har: Waller to require him to Ord^r^ all y^e^ Troopes and Compainyes to march to their respective Quarters for y^e^ defence of y^e^ Countrey. To require all persons in Armes not being members of y^e^ Army to retourne to their respective Habitations upon payne of being declared enemyes to this C̄mon Wealth, and thereby to make way for y^e^ Com^rs^ of the C̄mon Wealth to be att liberty and safety, for y^e^ exersising of y^e^ Trust reposed in them, & to y^e^ end y^t^ noe honest meanes for preventing the said Evills might bee left unattempted, I humbly offer to consideration whether it be adviseable to propound.

That it be Agreed that all places of Strength now in the hands of the Offic^rs^ of y^e^ Army bee continued in y^e^ same hands, until^l^ y^e^ pleasure of L^t^ Gen^ell^ Ludlowe o^r^ C̄mander in Chiefe be knowne concerning them; That the present C̄mand^r^ in Chiefe upon y^e^ Place doe act noething in relation to his C̄mand, but according to y^e^ Advise of S^r^ Hardres

Waller, The Three Warrens, Coll. Lawrence, Coll. Cooper, or any foure or more of them, untill the pleasure of L^t^ Gen^ll^ Ludlowe bee knowne concerning the said comand. That all the Troopes and Companyes be returned to their Quarters in the Countrey, To the end the former Evills may bee prevented, and the Comissioners of Parliament may returne to their duty. But the Com^rs^ cannot act w^th^ safety untill the fforces returne to their Quarters; for the Sould^rs^ if they bee in Towne will mutiny and fall on them for the pay w^ch^ their Officers have promised them, and therefore let y^t^ bee donne in the first place, and if that bee not done soddainely, The sould^rs^ will take ffree quarter and Plund^r^ &c. I conceive if these proposalls bee made knowne to M^r^ Winter and his people, they wilbee earnest to promote them; But if they will refuse to stand to the L^t^ Gen^lls^ Determination, there is more Evill in y^e^ Bottome of this Designe then is yet discovered. The most honest and prudent way to proceede in these proposalls is first to p'pound them to such as are reputed most honest amonge them, and best fixed to the Cause and Interest wee are to maytayne, as to M^r^ Winter and his people, and by them to Waller. The Lord direct you what to doe, and keepe you from Snares.

Yo^r^ most affectionate and humble Servant,

JOHN JONES.

Dublin Castle, 20^th^ 10^ber^ 1659.

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To S^r^ Hardres Waller, Knight, &c.

S^r^

There came to my hand this day a printed Paper, intituled a Coppie of a l^tre^ from Gen^rll^ Moncke, bearing date y^e^ 11th day of November last, importing an answere to a letter sent

from me, yo$^{r}$ selfe, and others, to him, beareing date y$^{e}$ 4th of November. If such a l$^{tre}$ came from him, It was not advisedly donne to conceale it soe longe, if agreement betweene the Parliament and their Army bee the thing wee ayme att; for I judge the substance of y$^{e}$ l$^{tre}$ to bee both in matter & language, soe honest & sober, & soe full of Christian Expressions of faithfullnesse & integrity to the Cause & Interest we have beene ingaged in during all y$^{e}$ tyme of the late Troubles in these Three Nations, That I doe very freely agree w$^{th}$ the desire in y$^{e}$ Close thereof (vizt), That wee here should joyne w$^{th}$ him & the fforces in Scotland in o$^{r}$ desires to y$^{e}$ Army in England that this Parliam$^{t}$ may be restored, and put a legall Period to their sitting, and settle such Expedients as may bee for the secureing of these Nations against the Comon Enemy; and had y$^{e}$ letter come to my hand when I was in a capacity to have propounded it to the officers here, I had done it w$^{th}$ as much ffreedome as any that pretend to more zeale in that matter; and if yet I may bee any way instrumentall to promote y$^{t}$ meanes of accomodation, I doe hereby declare unto you y$^{t}$ I am ready to use my endeavo$^{rs}$ in such way as may be judged most effectuall. Had this or the originall come to my hand sooner, I had sooner tendered my services herein, which I leave to yo$^{r}$ consideration, and rest

S$^{r}$ y$^{r}$ humble servant,

Dublin Castle, the 22$^{d}$ of December, 1659. JOHN JONES.

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To the Right Hon$^{ble}$ the L$^{d}$ Richard Cromwell.

S$^{r}$

M$^{r}$ Waterhouse informes me y$^{t}$ yo$^{r}$ Lo$^{pp}$ have been pleased to interdict the Paym$^{t}$ of the Annuity w$^{ch}$ his late

Highnes yo$^{r}$ father settled upon my wife untill you should signifie yo$^{r}$ further pleasure therein. I believe it is not unknowne to yo$^{r}$ Lo$^{pp}$ upon what consideration the Interest to y$^{t}$ Anuity came unto mee. I was ingaged by agreem$^{t}$ before marriage to settle upon her 300$^{li}$ p ann. Joynture w$^{ch}$ I have done. The anuity abovemenconed, his late Highnes assured mee he had settled upon her dureing her life, besides some other Emolum$^{ts}$ which I had intimation of I should have, but came short of, occasioned probably by my own indiscretion. Truely S$^{r}$ I thought there was not in y$^{e}$ Worlde better security for 120$^{li}$ p ann. dureing an ancient life then his Worde and Deede under his hand and seale, I cannot believe y$^{t}$ his Highnes intended there should be any discontinuance of that Anuity, and it were very unworthy in me to thinke soe, neither can I give way to my thoughts to apprehend otherwise of yo$^{r}$ Lo$^{pp}$ but you will be pleased to make good his Highnes Acte, although by the letter of Lawe you may possibly avoyde it; I humbly desire the signification of yo$^{r}$ pleasure in this particular, and remayne

Yo$^{r}$ Lo$^{pp's}$ most humble servant,

London, 12th March, 1660. JOHN JONES.

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To her Highnes Dowager.

Madam,

You may judge mee exceeding remisse in my duety in not waiteing in person on yo$^{r}$ Highnes to tender y$^{t}$ gratitude and service w$^{ch}$ I humbly acknowledge to owe unto yo$^{r}$ La$^{pp}$ and w$^{ch}$ yo$^{u}$ may justly expect from mee as the retourne of very many kindnesses & favoures yo$^{u}$ have been pleased to hono$^{r}$ me w$^{th}$, which I shall have in a very high esteeme as Influence of an humble Soule in y$^{e}$ highest

Pitch of worldly exaltation w$^{ch}$ naturally incline our Spirits to another frame. But beeing informed y$^{t}$ y$^{r}$ Highnes & yo$^{r}$ ffamily are very highly offended w$^{th}$ mee for reasons not yet come to my knowledge, I humbly conceived it more prudent and less offencive to forbeare yo$^{r}$ presence untill it please God by some meanes to give mee opportunity to remove those apprehentions w$^{ch}$ yo$^{r}$ La$^{pp}$ is possessed w$^{th}$, concerning mee, and w$^{ch}$ I dare affirme wilbee found fictitiouse when honestly & candidly examined. I am loath to mēcon what sadde impression those missunderstandings seeme to make upon my L$^{d}$ Richard yo$^{r}$ Sonne by his interdicting or with holding y$^{e}$ paym$^{t}$ of y$^{t}$ Anuity w$^{ch}$ his late Highnes now w$^{th}$ the Lord settled upon my wife, alleddging y$^{t}$ his father had noe Power to Graunt it, But I hope when he may bee pleased to seriously consider it, he wilbee more tender of his fathers Hon$^{r}$ then to make his Act under his Hand & Seale voyd. If yo$^{r}$ Highnes please to favoure Justice & the hon$^{ble}$ memory of yo$^{r}$ late pretiouse husband soe farr as to advise his Lo$^{pp}$ what you conceive fitt in this particular, and thereby prevent y$^{e}$ evill consequences of a more publique disquisition, you will performe an Office acceptable to God and aboundantly obligeing to him who desires to be esteemed & found in y$^{e}$ way of Love Truth and Peace

Yo$^{r}$ Highnes most faithfull
& most humble servant,
JO. JONES.

4 Apr. 1660.

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Note.—Colonel John Jones, with twenty-seven others (amongst whom were Major-General Harrison, Peters, Scott, Carew, Cook, Clement, Scroop, Axtell and Hacker), who sat in judgment on the trial of Charles I., was tried and found

guilty of high treason, and ordered to be hanged and quartered, his entrails to be burned at Charing Cross and his head to be stuck on Temple Bar; which sentence was carried into execution on the 17th October, 1660. When on his trial he pleaded guilty to the act, and throughout conducted himself in such a dignified manner as became one of his strong religious feeling, answering the questions put to him in a firm voice. When the Judge pronounced sentence of death upon him he bowed to the Court, and prayed that the Lord would give him strength to demean himself in such a manner as became a Christian and bear proof of the hope he had of his forgiveness hereafter. Nor could he at the scaffold be induced to retract his words, but said that Charles Stuart had betrayed his country and was deserving of death. When the people reviled him for his acts towards the late King, he only answered with prayers for the good of his country and forgiveness of his Judges.

During the passage of these sheets through the press, the Rev. Cyrus Morrell has informed me that he has in his possession a pedigree of the Jones family, kindly promising me permission to copy it, and I shall have pleasure in laying it before the Society at some future meeting. As so little is known of the early life of many of the actors in that great drama, in which Colonel Jones played so conspicuous a part, and even the little that was known at the Restoration was so perverted to answer party purposes, whatever may tend to throw light upon any portion of those times will be received as a boon towards the true history of the Commonwealth.

# EXPLANATION OF A DEED ON PARCHMENT, (DATE 1723,) PRESENTED TO THE SOCIETY BY MR. HARRISON, OF CASTLE STREET.

*By A. Craig Gibson, F.S.A., Hon. Curator.*

(Read 13th December, 1860.)

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This document is endorsed "Papists' Certificates and Duplicates," and is not, as at first supposed, a list of fines levied upon the estates of Roman Catholics residing in the neighbourhood of Liverpool, but, on the contrary, consists of exemptions from, or, as they are styled, deficiencies of, a tax assessed upon the property of Roman Catholics, under an Act of Parliament passed in the ninth year of the reign of George I, entitled "An Act for granting an aid to his Majesty, by laying "a tax upon Papists, and for making such other persons as, "upon due summons, shall refuse or neglect to take the oaths "therein mentioned, to contribute towards the said tax for "reimbursing to the public the great expense occasioned by "the late conspiracies, and for discharging the estates of "Papists from two-thirds of the rents and profits thereof for "one year, and all arrears of the same, and from such forfeitures "as are therein more particularly described."

The act so entitled restricts the amount to be levied under it to £100,000, and gives several grounds on which exemption from contribution to the "aid" might be claimed—such as *bona fide* alienation, to a Protestant, prior to a certain date, the death of the owner and minority of his heirs, double assessments, &c., &c. Owners of property wrongfully assessed, too, escaped such assessment, by taking certain oaths, and making certain declarations, as provided by acts passed in the first year of the monarch already named, and in the

thirteenth of Charles II; the former entitled "An Act for "the better security of his Majesty's person and government, "and the succession of the Crown in the heirs of the late "Princess Sophia, being Protestants, and for extinguishing "the hopes of the late pretended Prince of Wales, and his "open and secret abettors;" the latter, "An Act for the more "effectual preserving the King's person and government, by "disabling Papists from sitting in either house of Parliament."

This parchment contains thirteen successful cases of appeal against assessments under the act of the ninth of George I, by owners of property so taxed, in the Prescot division of the Hundred of West Derby, decided on the seventeenth day of September, 1723, by three of the Commissioners appointed to put the said act into execution—the signatures and seals of these Commissioners being appended to the document; to wit, those of Richard Powis, Thomas Cobham and Richard Tatlock, all representatives of ancient and well-known families in this vicinity. The first case is that of Percival Rice, a Papist, who had registered certain lands, &c., in the townships of Fazakerly, Halewood, West Derby and Speke, of the aggregate annual value of £89 5s. 6d., and assessed towards the said *aid* the sum of £45 1s. 3d. This Percival Rice takes the oaths and subscribes the declaration indicated above, and so evades payment of this serious impost; the sums assessed upon his several properties being declared by the Commissioners to be therefore *deficiencies* within the true intent and meaning of the said act.

The second certifies the assessment of £25 10s. upon certain lands, &c., within the township of Rainhill, of the yearly value of £85, and late belonging to John Lancaster, of that township, Esq., a reputed Papist, to be "a deficiency of the said act," because they are "really and *bona fide* vested in and belong "to Nicholas Fazakerly, Esq., a Protestant, by alienation made "before the 25th day of December, 1722."

The third records a similar decision, as to the sum of £21, on lands, &c., in the township of Sutton, of the yearly value of £70, late belonging to Thomas Holland, a reputed Papist, similarly alienated to John Rigby, a Protestant.

The fourth, the same, as to the sum of £3 12s., on lands in Windle, of the yearly value of £14 8s., alienated by William Leadbetter, a reputed Papist, to Sir John Blackburn, a Protestant.

The fifth certifies the sum of 30s., on lands, &c., in Windle, of the yearly value of £30, late the estate of Humphrey Carroll, to be "a deficiency of the said aid," because they are "vested "in and belong to infants, under the age of eighteen years."

The sixth gives the same, as to lands in Hale, of the yearly value of £5, two-thirds being in possession of Mrs. Mary Howarden, and assessed in 27s.

The seventh, the same, as to lands in Sutton, assessed at £9 7s.: owner's name not given

The eighth, the same, as to lands in Eccleston, late the estate of John Standish, a reputed Papist, of the yearly value of £10; assessed, 36s.

The ninth, the same, as to lands, &c., in Parr, late the estate of Humphrey Carroll, deceased, a reputed Papist, yearly value, £80; assessed, £35 4s.

The tenth, the same, as to lands, &c., in Halewood, two-thirds, as in the sixth case, being in the possession of Mrs. Mary Howarden, and of the yearly value of £34; assessed, £4 12s. 2d., or two-thirds, £3 1s. 5d.

In the eleventh case, Thomas Prenton, of Garston, clears his lands of an assessment of six pounds, by appearing before the Commissioners, within six days after demand of the sum assessed, and taking the oaths and declarations mentioned before.

In the twelfth, it is shown that, as in the case of the income tax of the present day, annuities arising from property were

sometimes doubly assessed for this impost, so putting the taxed to the unnecessary trouble and expense of making appeal against it, for Mrs. Mary Harrington, of Liverpool, widow, is assessed on an annuity of two hundred pounds, arising out of certain lands in Huyton, formerly the property of Charles Harrington, Esq.; and that upon his death the said lands were registered by John Harrington, Esq., without any deduction in respect of the said annuity. And it also appearing that the *inhabitants*, who are liable to the said tax, are assessed towards the said aid the sum of £102, which is much more than they really and *bona fide* ought to pay, the sum of £60, part of the said sum of £102, is a deficiency within the meaning of the said act.

The thirteenth and last deals, in a similar manner and for similar reasons, with a tax of £30 on an annuity of £100, drawn by Madame Eleanor Eccleston, from the estate of Thomas Eccleston, of Eccleston, Esq.

What strikes us most forcibly in this document, besides the injustice and impolicy of the whole tax, is the apparent absence of any rule as to the rate at which the different properties are assessed—that given in the first case being assessed at the rate of fifty per cent. upon the gross rental, or ten shillings in the pound, that in the fifth at five per cent., or one shilling in the pound—the others being put down at various rates between these wide extremes. The principal feeling the perusal of it excites is that of self-gratulation that we live in times when we may differ in religious opinion from the majority of our fellow-subjects without rendering ourselves liable to the infliction of a grievous, oppressive, almost ruinous impost, which this parchment shows was in force less than one hundred and thirty years ago.

# ON A GOLD PLATE, EMBOSSED WITH HIEROGLYPHICS, IN THE MUSEUM OF JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A, &c.

*By C. Simonides, Ph.Dr.*

(READ 9TH MAY, 1861.)

THE museums of Europe have been enriched by a vast number of Egyptian treasures, brought from that country into the west from time to time; and though the specimens which have been thus imported are so numerous, too many lie forgotten and unnoticed on the now deserted floors of the wilderness cities, once the most magnificent in ancient Egypt. And it is very probable that many antiquities of the highest interest still lie thus hidden in the earth, for the wrecks of ancient Egyptian greatness have ever been found thus buried. These records (as far as we are at present acquainted with them) embrace, first, matters concerning the religious and political government of the state; and, secondly, those connected with the customs and usages of the various towns. Others, again, relate to the history of illustrious men, and even of private individuals. And not a few of them are full of sententious utterances which exhort to all kinds of learning and of virtue. Some of these writings are executed upon papyrus, and some upon stones; some upon linen, and some upon wood; some upon different metals, as brass, silver, gold, and alloys of these; and some, again, upon fragments of earthen vessels, and urns of baked clays. The greater part of the inscriptions are in hieroglyphics, but some in the demotic, and some in the hieratic characters. A most precious specimen of this class of antiquities is in the possession of Mr. Mayer, valuable alike from its material, which is pure gold, and from the intrinsic interest of its contents. It is a plate, 1 foot 10

inches long, by 7⅜ inches wide, of the thickness of a sheet of cardboard, and has embossed upon it hieroglyphics emblematic of divinity, and of life and of death. It was found in a mummy case of some general of Upper Egypt. What his name was I know not, for the ἐπιστήθιον, as the plate is called, does not enable us to determine it. But it is likely that the mummy case contains the particular apophthegm of the general instead of his name (as was the custom among the Egyptians). If we had, then, a copy of the apophthegm, we could easily make out what sort of a man he was, and when he flourished; but I am not without hope that Mr. Mayer, who is so zealous in the pursuit of antiquities, may have a copy procured of the inscription referred to, which is still preserved in Egypt; and, also, of all the sacred writings which were inscribed in the case; for who knows, if this course be pursued, what historical truths we may not discover, which may reveal errors of historians of the present age. As, however, we unfortunately have not yet this information in our possession, let us commence by simply interpreting the symbolical writing on the breast-plate which lies before us.

Interpreted, the symbols read thus: "Having been clothed "with manhood by the Divine Power, I despised death often; "and having become at last a suppliant for true wisdom, and "having participated in it, I contemplated the might of Night "and of Day, and of Death and of Life. And, therefore, "among the living I remain, immortal, and my dust, fashioned "by Phthaì, though corruptibly, yet of incorruptible clay, is "watched by heavenly guardians, till the time when it shall "again become, not this time the corruptible, but the incor- "ruptible abode of an immortal creation."

Thus runs the interpretation of the symbolical writings; but the sense being entirely metaphorical, must be elucidated in order to be thoroughly understood.

"Having been clothed with manhood by the Divine Power,"

that is, having been arrayed with power by God, I often despised the inevitable dangers which threaten our lives. For who that believes in the living God can die? None. Here the faith of this man in God is seen, and not in this record alone, for, in all the Egyptian monuments, reference to God is manifest. "And having become at last," etc., etc., that is, that first, while leading a military life, and always putting his trust in God, he despised the dangers of battle when engaged with his enemies, and afterwards, when he had left this arduous career, in his intercourse with the wise, he became truly enlightened, and perceived the real powers of nature. For to the light (that is the sun), and to the darkness (that is the moon), the Egyptians ascribed the cause of the creation and destruction of all corruptible things, as well as of the incorruptible body; and they called both these luminaries "ordained agencies." Thus, then, being instructed by the power of reason, he became acquainted with the force which rules in nature; that is to say, he understood that there is one God, who created all things, who preserves all things, and who maintains the universe in harmony. Having learned these things, and having faith in God, he obtained immortality, his spirit being taken to rank with the immortals. And my dust, says he, that is my body, which Φθαὶ (evidently Δημιουργὸς, the Creator) fashioned corruptibly (for corruptible is all creation) of incorruptible clay, *i.e.*, of the elements of the earth (for this is incorruptible and eternal, all that is made from it returning to it again), is watched by heavenly guardians, that is, is guarded by those elements from which it proceeded, until its spirit, which was abiding with the immortals, returns to it, and then it will become the immortal dwelling of an immortal creation. He evidently believes that his body shall be raised again at a future day, and that the immortal spirit shall return to it, and live with it to all eternity.

From this last paragraph we have abundant evidence that the Egyptians, who also taught metempsychosis, were persuaded that those who lived virtuously should rise from the dead, both soul and body, and should live for ever.

And so they taught truth, even the truth of the Gospel. For the nation which became the teacher of the lawgiver of the Hebrews (as Scripture affirms) I mean of the Prophet Moses, the author of the Pentateuch, was likely to have some correct notions about God and the immortality of the soul. "He," says the high priest of the god Χεμμὰ, Μάλχις son of Scethis, "is our ruler, he is our guardian; let us therefore "love him from our heart, and those gods also who dwell in "the same temple, and let us worship them with the unfeigned "homage of our hearts, and in this we shall always be "honoured and esteemed." Thus also the Apostle Paul preached to the Athenians, saying to them "In whom we live "and move and have our being, as certain also of your own "poets have said, for we are also His offspring. Inasmuch, "then, as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think "that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, "graven by art and man's device." Areteus is the poet (quoted by Paul) who being in Egypt, and being taught for a considerable time by the Egyptians, obtained many correct views, which he translated into Greek, and gave to his countrymen the purity of the doctrine of the Egyptians as to the omnipotence of God, is attested not only by the words of the high priest Malchis, but also by many other apophthegms of the priests, and especially by the following inscription, which is written, generally near the god Ammon, in hieratic characters, and which being interpreted runs thus:—"I am "the inward and self-begotten; I bring forward invisible "things from the invisible world into light by a word, both "to have beginning and existence: all things visible and "invisible are by my word, by which also are upheld all

" things corruptible and incorruptible." The spirit breathed by this sentence differs in no respect from that of the sacred writings, for it ascribes the existence of all things to one God, eternal, invisible and self-begotten, whom the Egyptians specially called Ammaa and Thamaa.

The Egyptian nation, then, held similar doctrines to the above, and especially insisted that the god Thothis (evidently the word of God) enjoins all mortals to worship God, the Maker of all; and their attention was directed rather to the future than to mortal affairs.*

I could still further elucidate the foregoing apophthegm, but this will suffice for the present. When, at some future time, I revert to the subject, it will be in greater detail.

We must warmly congratulate Mr. Mayer, the lover of antiquity, on his possession of this treasure, from which we have elicited some important matters hitherto unknown.

It will be seen, by the preceding remarks that the Egyptian remains afford great interest, especially on subjects connected with ethics, and that they may be rendered extremely useful to literature, if properly interpreted.

These truths the noble Plato, and Pythagoras before him, with Anaxagoras, and others of the ancient sages, acknowledged, and they became what they were by appropriating the spirit of these writings. The Egyptologers of our time publish continually bulky volumes of reproductions of Egyptian writings, but they throw no further light upon the matter than to tell us, "This is Φθαΐ, this is Ammon, this is Osiris—Osiris and nothing more." They say that all the records of the Egyptians contain nothing but proper names; and they

* Chenophis, son of Orus and a native of Panopolis, says in his Book of Sacred Apophthegms, that the sentence which we have been discussing, was often quoted by Thousochis, sister's son of Smendis, the King of Egypt, the first of the 20th dynasty (according to Manetho of Sebennes) who also reigned as viceroy of the Thebaid 32 years. Uranius of Alexandria, Manetho of Alexandria, and Chara of Nancrotia make the same statement.

give lengthy and laughable catalogues of these names; but the symbolical they seem entirely ignorant of, and neglect totally. May we be preserved from the errors of such men (who conceal and disguise the truth as they think fit), and may we be enabled to gain a clear knowledge of the mystery of the early ages of this world, over which the Almighty Power reigns supreme. And so to the Creator and Governor of all, be glory, now and for evermore!

# OBSERVATIONS ON THE PERUVIAN TOMB POTTERY, AND SOME OBJECTS OF GOLD FROM SOUTH AMERICA, IN THE MUSEUM OF JOSEPH MAYER, ESQ., F.S.A., &c., &c., &c.

*By Wm. Bollaert, F.R.G.S., Corr. Mem. Univ. Chile, of the Amer. Ethno. Soc., &c.*

(READ 8TH NOVEMBER, 1860.)

POTTERY, which did not excite by its nature the rapacity of the Spanish conquerors, has been better preserved than many other objects of Peruvian antiquity.*

If we examine the principles of plastic art among different nations, we find that although the artists intended to represent a whole figure, yet, wanting in skill, they exaggerated the relative size of the parts, so in this Peruvian modelling the nose and ears are above their natural size. Among the Egyptians, long figures predominate; among the Peruvians, short and bulky ones. In most of the Peruvian specimens the head forms the principal part, indicating that the artist exhausted upon it all his skill: the body is a deformed mass, and the extremities are appendages of least importance. As regards the head, one of the best illustrations is that of a Chimu chief from Trujillo, as seen in the frontispiece to my book on South American Antiquities:† the original I have deposited in the British Museum.

It would appear that the plastic art originated at the time when nations, leaving their fundamental or monotheistic re-

* See Rivêro and Tschudi Peru. Antiq. translated by Dr. Hawks.

† Antiquarian, Ethnological and other Researches in New Granada, Ecuador, Peru and Chile, with Observations on the Pre-Incarial, Incarial and other monuments of Peruvian nations. Trübner, London, 1860.

ligion, became converted to polytheism. Among the Peruvians we discover in their Huaqueros, sacred or tomb pottery, beginnings of the art, and in them and the vessels destined for the sacrifice of the deities we trace its progress. A critical examination attests that the works of art of the country governed by the Chimus (on the coast), and those found in Cuzco, far in the interior, at more than 10,000 feet above the sea, the capital of the Incas, are much more perfect than those which are seen in the Sierra and on the coast of central Peru.

The moulded works of the Peruvians have a peculiar character which distinguishes them from those of other American nations. Some of them bear a certain resemblance to the forms presented by the old continent—especially the most simple; such are some seated figures, which have an Egyptian type; vases which may pass for Etruscan; blackish vessels, resembling those of the Celtic-Germans.

The skill of the Peruvian potter was laid out upon the manufacture of the Huaqueros, which they placed with the bodies (*mallquis*) in the tombs (*machay*).

The cooking pottery and other vessels are very simple and without art. The material used was of coloured clay and blackish earth, which they prepared so well, that it resisted fire, and did not absorb liquids. It seems that they did not burn the vessels, since the substance of these differed materially from burnt clay, and judging from appearances, they dried it in the sun, after having prepared and mixed it in a manner of which we are ignorant.

The greater part of the sacred vessels buried with the bodies, and destined to receive the chicha of sacrifice (a drink prepared from Indian corn) on feast days, have an enlarged neck, placed ordinarily near the handle, with a hole to pour out the liquid, and an opposite opening for the air to escape when the vessel is filled. Many are double, quadruple, sextuple and octuple; that is, the principal vessel is surrounded with regular ap

pendages, which communicate among themselves with the principal vessel. The double ones were made in such perfection, that, when filled with liquid, the air escaping produced at times musical sounds; the sounds sometimes imitated the voice of an animal which was represented by the principal part of the vessel. Sometimes vases, which being filled with water through a hole in the bottom, on being turned over lose not a drop of water—the water coming out, when it is wished, by simply inclining the upper part of the vase; which proves that the Peruvian artists had perhaps some knowledge of atmospheric pressure.

On many of the sacred vessels there are designs and painting, which give an idea of the progress of the art of design among the Peruvians. The architectural designs with straight lines are correct and even beautiful. Some of the painting, as seen at p. 203 of my book, on a vase from Berué (Trujillo), is probably the Chimu god of war. There is another worthy of notice, which is seen very often, either painted on vessels of clay, or engraved on their arms, or worked in raised work in gold or silver, and represents a man with the arms open, holding in his hand staves or lances (*chuquis*), and the head covered with a broad cap. There is no doubt that these figures represent deities; others have long garments, and on their head a species of mitre, probably intended for Priests of the Sun. These last are Incarial.

I find no account of the employment of the potter's wheel or table in Peru. None of the ancient Peruvian Pottery that has come under my observation is glazed (although they had plenty of salt and even salts of borax). I suppose that the sacred vessels found in the tombs were made by, or under the superintendence of, the priests. The household pottery (*manca*) was made by the working potter, who was called Saña Camayoc.

After the conquest, Spain supplied earthenware to its colonies; China a considerable quantity, by way of the Philippine

Islands; but in our own times, England principally manufactures for South America.

There is a potter's clay in Quito having a delicate fragrance. A similar clay is met with in Chile, and in some of the convents in the capital there are made from it jars, bowls, cups, &c., which are painted, gilt and varnished; these vessels communicate a pleasant smell and flavour to the water put into them, said to proceed from some bituminous body in the clay. I have some of this pottery, but it appears to me that the greater portion of the fragrance has been given to it by cloves, vanilla, or such like aromatics.

I now come to the examination of the interesting collection of Peruvian pottery in Mr. Mayer's Museum.

### From Honduras.

There are three Tasas, on tripods of earthenware, from the island of Ruatan. These were found on the top of a high hill, among what appeared to the finder, Captain Fraser, the ruins of an altar. The tripedal arrangement is met with as far south as Chiriquí (100 miles north of Panamá), but I have not noticed such from further south. (Plate III.)

### Peru.

From this country there is a large collection of sacred pottery; however, the only one labelled is from Trujillo, north of Lima, the land of the ancient Chimu chiefs, who were conquered by the later Incas. In my work I give some particulars of this district, rich in antiquities; and I am now preparing some observations on the ruins in that region, particularly as regards the large mound tombs (some of which, I have no doubt, contain rich objects in gold and silver), and the ruined palaces and walls of the city of the Chimus, so different from the Incarial and other Peruvian monuments.

of maize, which were of gold, the stems, leaves and ears of silver; and they were so firmly planted, that although they had strong winds, they were not torn up. They had llamas and their young of gold, and the shepherds with their slings and crooks guarding them made of this metal. Their Zodiac, or lunar calendar was engraven on gold. There were large jars, containing gold, silver and emeralds; vases like earthen pots, and other vessels of gold. The service of the Inca's palace was of gold and silver, except some parts which were of silver and copper, for the sake of strength. The Inca had in his withdrawing room hollow statues of gold, which were gigantic; and elsewhere figures of natural size, resembling animals, birds, trees, fish &c. There were imitations of grass ropes, sacks, baskets and knapsacks, all of gold and silver; heaps of sticks of gold, in the form of billets of wood for burning.

In the palace of Tumebamba, within the apartments, were bundles of gold straw, and on the walls were sculptured llamas and their young, birds and other things. They had many rich blankets, embroidered in silver and white "glass" beads—these were probably of rock crystal, as glass was unknown to them. There were, in gold and silver, viscachas (like the rabbit), lizards, snakes, butterflies, foxes, deer and fawns, pumas and jaguars (lion and tiger, or leopard, of America); birds of all descriptions, some placed on the trees as if singing, others flying about and sucking the honey. The Inca seated himself generally in a seat of massive gold, called the tiana; it was the third of a yard in height, and was placed on a square block of gold; it was 16 carats fine, and became the prize of Pizarro. The model of the sun was an immense mass of gold.

The following is a description of objects in gold, from South America, belonging to Mr. Mayer, and deposited in his Museum.

MEXICO.

A very fine and large specimen of Mexican workmanship,

in gold. It is a double-headed human figure, and may represent Ho and Thaloc, two of the Mexican trimurti (supposed), or other idols. (Plate V.)

NEW GRANADA.

Two articles, in gold, of frogs or lizards (Plate V); these were venerated by the Chibchas or Muiscas of Bogotá. The frog or toad was symbolic of water, rain and other things, as the number one; also played a curious part in their lunar calendar, which was generally an engraved pentagonal stone. I have given some readings of these engraved stones in my book on South American Antiquities.

There are also two figures, in gold, from the ancient tombs; they have been cast flat, the lower part of the mould having had the figure cut out in it. (Plate V.) Such are peculiar to this region. One is of pure gold, and has a staff, surmounted apparently by the guacamayo, or sacred parrot; these were taught to speak, then sacrificed. The other is of that sort called Guanin gold, probably a natural alloy; some specimens gave 63 gold, 14 silver, 9 copper. There is another figure, human, with head like guacamayo. There are also some gold earrings, having a stud, which was introduced into a perforation in the ear; also nose-rings; these are from Indian tombs at San Juan, in the province of Antioquia. The stone chisel is a good piece of workmanship. (Plate V.)

In the first section of my work, there are details of great treasure, in gold, taken from the tombs in New Granada.

PERU.

Two hollow figures, in silver, male and female—most probably from Cuzco. (Plate VII.) Plate VIII.

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Mr. Mayer has been good enough to allow me to examine several objects in gold, from Peru, purchased in Lima by Joseph Hegan, Esq.

square of 6¼ inches. I may observe that at Tia-Huanacu, the ruins are anterior to the Incas (if we follow Garcilaso, who for the present is the safest guide, but Montesinos and others have to be critically examined on matters connected with the more ancient history of Peru, as to particulars of other dynasties than that of the Incas), for they looked upon the ruins of Tia-Huanacu with the same admiration as the modern Greek looks upon those wondrous monuments of old in his classic land. However, Maytacapac, the IV Inca, (died A.D. 1156) came to this spot, and after subjecting the people south of the Lake of Titicaca, he built a palace at Tia-Huanacu; thus I conclude that this piece of gold lining was most probably from the ruins of this said palace, and not from the old enigmatic ruins of Tia-Huanacu; which name was given to the spot, in consequence of the Inca Mayta saying to a Chasqui, or foot messenger, who had brought him news with great celerity, "Tia-Huanacu," rest thou, fleet as the Huanaco. But the original name of the country, or of the builders of these monuments here, some with symbols and hieroglyphs, is unknown.*

Thus it will be seen that gold was in great abundance then, as it still is; but in our times industry and population are wanting in Peru and Bolivia. The present population are too much engaged in grasping at power, which they have yet to learn how to use judiciously; this leads to continual civil wars. Then the Indians who were of the industrious races have dwindled away through the system of *encomiendas*, or grants of land with population on them; the cruel *mita*, or forced labour in the mines, and still more abominable *malaso*, or the assisting one tribe to war upon another, so as to take prisoners and sell them to the Spaniards. The Indian

* Lorente in his Historia del Peru, Lima, 1860, alludes to a tradition which gives the original name Tia-Huanacu to be *Chucahua*, and that it was built by a monarch named *Huyustus*.

has become apathetic, and may have lost all hope even of better times under the present republican governments.

The beautiful prayer of Ebenezer Elliot, commencing with

"When wilt thou save thy people—O God of mercy, when?"

has been heard from the Italian Peninsula: O when will it be heard from the long suffering Children of the Sun!

Unhappy, ill-fated America! Some, as in Mexico, first built altars to their own bloody gods, then they were dragged before similar tribunals the white man brought from Europe; and now the powerful vices and diseases of Europe are raging among many of these helpless creatures.

# PROCEEDINGS.

## THIRTEENTH SESSION, 1860-61.

### ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

57, *Ranelagh Street*, 15*th October*, 1860.

LIEUT.-GENERAL THE HONORABLE SIR EDWARD CUST, D.C.L. &c., PRESIDENT, in the Chair.

The SECRETARY read the following

### REPORT.

At the termination of the Twelfth Session the retiring Council have to report the continued success of the Society's labours in the varied departments of enquiry to which they are devoted, as the Annual Volume, now ready for distribution, will, they feel assured, satisfactorily prove.

During the Session, the Council, in continuation of the course adopted in the preceding year, recommended for removal from the roll of members the names of certain gentlemen whose subscriptions were in arrear; and, their suggestion having been acted on, the list may now be regarded as shewing, very closely, the effective strength of the Society—an important consideration in regulating the expenditure. The large arrears apparent in former Sessions have thus been in a great measure swept away, and the Council hope the collection of those outstanding, which are comparatively inconsiderable, will be accomplished with little difficulty.

Intercourse with kindred Societies has been increased, and the additions to the Library continue to be as numerous and valuable as heretofore. The Museum, however, has received but few contributions; a circumstance to which the Council advert with the hope of inducing members interested in Archæological subjects to contribute more liberally to the extension of the collection. The Society's room, at 57, Ranelagh Street, will be open every evening of meeting, from Five till a little before Seven, and members who cannot attend may obtain books by a written application to the Assistant Secretary.

The Annual Excursion was this year made to Shrewsbury and Wroxeter; and the usual Miscellaneous Meeting of the Society was held, by invitation of the proprietor, Joseph Mayer, Esq., Vice-President, at his Museum of Antiquities. A brief account of the proceedings on each of these occasions will be found in the Appendix to volume xii.

The Treasurer's Balance Sheet shews the receipts for the year to have been £303 19s. 4d., which sum, with the balance of £14 16s. 7d. from last year, shews a gross total of £318 15s. 11d. The entire payments are £306 1s. 5d., leaving a balance in hand amounting to £12 14s. 6d. There have been no considerable extra charges, and the accounts will shew that the expenditure has been governed by the actual resources.

The Council regret to state that, in consequence of his inability to attend the meetings, the Treasurer, Thomas Avison, Esq., has decided to resign his office, which has been held by him from the time the Society was founded. In these circumstances the Council have nominated, as Mr. Avison's successor, William Burke, Esq.

'Agreeably to the Laws, the names of six gentlemen are submitted for appointment to the various Sections, in the place of those who retire from the Council.

It was moved by the Rev. THOMAS MOORE, A.M., seconded by JOHN G. JACOB, Esq., and resolved unanimously :—

That the Report now read be adopted, and printed and circulated with the Proceedings of the Society.

The following Statement of Accounts having been read,

It was moved by PETER R. MCQUIE, Esq., seconded by J. R. HUGHES, Esq., and resolved unanimously:—

That the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts be passed, and printed and circulated with the Proceedings of the Society.

THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE *in account with* THOMAS AVISON, *Treasurer.*

*Dr.* *Cr.*

| | £ | s. | d. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| THE VOLUMES:— | | | | | | |
| Lithographing & printing for vol. ix | 5 | 5 | 6 | | | |
| Balance of printing for vol. xi | 3 | 1 | 10 | | | |
| Delivery of ditto | 5 | 14 | 3 | | | |
| Printing and binding vol. xii | 119 | 19 | 4 | | | |
| Lithographing for ditto | 12 | 2 | 6 | | | |
| | | | | 146 | 3 | 5 |
| SESSIONAL EXPENSES:— | | | | | | |
| Printing Circulars, &c | 9 | 11 | 0 | | | |
| Stationery | 3 | 14 | 4 | | | |
| Postage Stamps | 8 | 4 | 7 | | | |
| Insurance, £1; Rent, £24 | 25 | 0 | 0 | | | |
| Rent, St. George's Hall | 18 | 18 | 0 | | | |
| Assistant Secretary | 37 | 10 | 0 | | | |
| Commission, making up lists, accounts &c | 15 | 11 | 3 | | | |
| Advertisements, delivery of circulars, messages, parcels &c. | 17 | 17 | 9 | | | |
| Refreshments at meetings | 13 | 6 | 6 | | | |
| | | | | 149 | 13 | 5 |
| PERMANENT CHARGES:— | | | | | | |
| Binding books for Library | 2 | 12 | 7 | | | |
| Illustrations of Roman London | 2 | 2 | 0 | | | |
| | | | | 4 | 14 | 7 |
| SPECIAL EXPENSES:— | | | | | | |
| Framing Address to Wm. Brown, Esq., in 1857 | | | | 5 | 10 | 0 |
| BALANCE in Treasurer's hands | | | | 12 | 14 | 6 |
| | | | | £318 | 15 | 11 |

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| By Balance from Session xi | 14 | 16 | 7 |
| By Receipts in Session xii, viz.:— | | | |
| Arrears | 17 | 7 | 6 |
| Entrance Fees, Session xii | 12 | 12 | 0 |
| Annual Subscriptions, ditto | 252 | 10 | 6 |
| Ditto Session xiii | 2 | 12 | 6 |
| Life Compositions | 10 | 10 | 0 |
| Books sold | 8 | 0 | 10 |
| Covers for volumes | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| | £318 | 15 | 11 |

Balance down.....£12 14 6

Examined by
PETER R. MCQUIE,
SAM. GATH,
} AUDITORS.

(E. & O. E.)
*Liverpool, 13th October*, 1860.
THOMAS AVISON.

It was moved by the Rev. R. R. Moore, B.A., seconded by E. F. Evans, Esq., and resolved unamimously:—

> That the thanks of the Society be given to the Officers and Sectional Members of the Council, for their services during the past Session.

It was moved by Thomas Dawson, Esq., seconded by the Rev. Thomas Moore, A.M., and resolved unanimously:—

> That the Society accepts with regret the resignation of his office by Thomas Avison, Esq., F.S.A., Treasurer, and that the best thanks of the Society be given to that gentleman for his valuable services during the past twelve years.

It was moved by George M. Browne. Esq., seconded by Thomas Avison, F.S.A., and resolved unanimously:—

> That the thanks of the Society be given to Joseph Mayer, Esq., for his reception of the members and their friends at his Museum of British and Foreign Antiquities on the 6th of January and 26th of April last; and to John F. Marsh, Esq., for the three Engravings in illustration of his paper in volume xii.

A ballot having been taken for the Officers and Sectional Members of Council, the result was announced from the chair. (See page v.)

It was moved by Samuel Hill, Esq., seconded by J. R. Hughes, Esq., and resolved unanimously:—

> That five Delegates be appointed by this Society to superintend the Gallery of Science and Inventions, in conjunction with the four learned Societies of Liverpool also appointing Delegates; the selection to be made by the Council.

Thanks were conveyed, by acclamation, to the President for his services during the evening, and the proceedings terminated.

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## 1*st November*, 1860. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

Mr. W. Bairstow, Dale Street, was duly elected an ordinary member of the Society.

James Brown, Esq., of New York, U. S. A., was unanimously elected an honorary member of the Society.

The following donations were presented:—

From Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, President.

> A beautifully carved ivory sceptre, intended as a mace of authority, to be laid before the presidential chair at every meeting of the Society.

From the Chairman.
A massive silver medal, commemorative of Mr. William Brown's gift of the Free Public Library to the inhabitants of Liverpool, bearing on the obverse a portrait of Mr. Brown, and on the reverse a representation of the Building.

From Alderman Bennett.
Six casts of seals in gutta percha.

From the Society of Antiquaries.
Archæologia, vol. xxxviii, part 1. Proceedings, Nos. 48 to 52, and vol i, N.S., No. 1. List of the Society.

From the Society.
Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, vols. vi and vii.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.
1. An account of the border clan of Hume, executed by himself, on the basis of Drummond's History of Noble British Families. It contains pedigrees, biographical sketches, &c., of 3,000 persons, and is illustrated with portraits, views of residences, maps, autographs, fac-similes, poetic references and numerous heraldic subjects.
2. Specimen of fossils found at St. Helens, in a coal-pit, 1200 feet below the surface, forwarded by R. McGill, Esq., St. Helens.

By Mr. C. S. Gregson.
1. *Lithosia Sericea*, a new species of lepidopterous insect.
2. A fine fossil orthoceritite and two trilobites, from the lower Silurian formation near Hawkshead.

By Mr. J. R. Hughes.
"Diddanwch Teuluaidd," or "Waith Beirdd Môn;" containing the Welsh and Latin odes of Goronwy Owen, Curate of Walton, near Liverpool, in 1753-55; who was said by Lewis Morris, the antiquary, to be "the greatest genius either of this age, or that "appeared in our country (Wales); and perhaps few other coun-"tries can show the like for universal knowledge."

By Mr. Newton.
A MS. Life of Christ of the fourteenth century, in German; containing twenty-seven miniature paintings.

By Mr. T. Dawson.
A silver coin found in a field at Litherland.

By Mr. Hodgkin.
A genealogical chart of the kings of France to the reign of Francis I, printed on vellum; believed to be unique.

By Dr. Simonides.
1. Various ancient MSS. from the museum of Mr. Mayer.
2. A decree in Egyptian hieroglyphics with Greek translation, written on human skin.
3. An ancient Greek MS. on vellum, of great value, over-written in the Greek character of the Middle Ages, the original writing having been rendered, by some process, invisible.

The following Paper was read:—

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHICS, *by C. Simonides, Ph. Dr.*

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*8th November*, 1860. LITERARY SECTION.

WILLIAM BROWN, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Author.
Annals of the Wars of the Nineteenth Century, by the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, D.C.L., Lieut.-General in the British Army, vol. v.

From the Museum.
The Industrial Museum of Scotland in its relation to commercial enterprise, by George Wilson, M.D., F.R.S.E., 1858.

From the Liverpool Royal Institution.
Report for 1859-60.

From Mr. Richard Hunt.
Lectures on the History of England, by Wm. Longman. Lecture the Second, 1860.

From the Historic and Archæological Society of Geneva.
1. Les Actes et Gestes Merveillevx de la Cité de Genève Nouuellement conuertie à l'Euangille faictz du temps de leur Reformation et comment ils l'ont receue redigez par escript en fourme de Chroniques Annales ou Hystoyres commençant l'an MDXXXII. Par Anthoine Fromment. Mis en lumière par Gustave Revilliod, 1854.
2. Advis et Devis de la Sovrce de l'Idolatrie et Tyrannie Papale, par qvelle practiqve et finesse les Papes sont en si haut degre montez, Suiuis des difformes Reformateurz, de l'aduis et deuis de menconge et des faulx miracles du temps present. Par Francois Bonivard, Ancien Prieur de Saint Victor, 1856.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., V.P.
A series of terra-cotta vases found in the tombs of the ancient inhabitants of South America; several objects in gold, consisting of an ear-ring more than 8 inches long by nearly 3 inches in diameter; idols in form of the frog, the lizard and rude figures of men; and a male and female figure in silver.

The following Papers were read:—

I. ON THE GENEALOGY OF THE ANGLO-SAXON KINGS, *by the Rev. Daniel Henry Haigh.*

II. OBSERVATIONS ON THE PERUVIAN TOMB POTTERY; and ON SOME OBJECTS OF GOLD FROM SOUTH AMERICA, IN THE MUSEUM OF JOSEPH MAYER, ESQ.,* *by William Bollaert, F.R.G.S.*

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* Transactions, p. 311.

## *15th November*, 1860. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society.
Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society, vol. xxviii.

From the Society.
1. Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, vol. xvi, part 2.
2. List of the Society.

From Mr. H. W. Harrison.
1. A Deed on parchment, dated 1723.
2. Copy of a Letter to a Gentleman in Liverpool from his Brother-Freeman in the Country, referring to the Election of 1784.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. Mercer.
Specimens of the new analyne dyes from coal-tar, as shewn in ribbons of silk of various colours.

By Mr. Newton.
A small compound pocket microscope, adapted for use out of doors in examining small portions of fluids.

By Mr. McQuie.
Various works on Numismatics, dated respectively 1786-97-98.

The following Paper was read:—

ON THE GOLD FIELDS OF AUSTRALIA,* *by J. T. Towson, F.R.G.S.*

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## *6th December*, 1860. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

WILLIAM BROWN, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected ordinary members of the Society:—

James Houghton, 84, Rodney street.

Rev. W. F. Taylor, LL.D., 61, Everton road.

Charles White, M.R.C.S., Warrington.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society.
Proceedings of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, vol. iii, part 1.

From the Society.
Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny and South-east of Ireland Archæological Society, N.S., Nos. 26 and 27.

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* Transactions, p. 17.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., V.P.
A silver medal, bearing, in high relief, on one side the head of Oliver Cromwell, and on the other the head of Masaniello.

By Mr. Burke.
Two autograph notes of Sir Walter Scott.

By Mr. H. E. Smith.
Various antique objects found within the previous few months on the Cheshire sea-shore near Hoylake, comprising a Roman phallus, in bronze, and a brass brooch; a curiously engraved head of a dog or griffin of the mediæval period; a silver penny of Edward III; a copper-plugged pewter halfpenny of the reign of James II, 1688; glass beads; and a lump of fused *latten*, a compound metal of which a large proportion of the objects discovered at Hoylake appear to be composed.

The following Paper was read:—

INEDITED LETTERS OF CROMWELL, COLONEL JONES, BRADSHAW AND OTHER REGICIDES,* *by Joseph Mayer, F.S.A. &c.*

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*13th December*, 1860. LITERARY SECTION.

PETER R. MCQUIE, Esq., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society.
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland; vol. xvii, part 2.

From the Society.
Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature. Second series, vol. vi, part 3.

The following object of interest was exhibited:—

By Mr. H. W. Harrison.
A beautifully illuminated volume, in black-letter on vellum, recording the principal circumstances of the Gospel history, and having a red-letter calendar of Romish saints' days.

The following Papers were read:—

I. EXPLANATION OF A DEED ON PARCHMENT (DATE 1723), PRESENTED TO THE SOCIETY BY MR. HARRISON,† *by A. Craig Gibson, F.S.A., Hon. Curator.*

II. BOTANICAL NOTICES,‡ *by Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith.*

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* Transactions, p. 177.
† Transactions, p. 301. ‡ Transactions, p. 67.

*20th December*, 1860. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

THOMAS SANSOM, A.L.S., in the Chair.

Mr. G. S. Wood, Lord street, was duly elected an ordinary member of the Society.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society.
Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. iv, Nos. 1 to 4.

From the Society.
Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, vol. xvi, part 4.

From the Society.
Journal of the Geological Society of Dublin, vol. viii, part 3.

The following objects of interests were exhibited:—

By Mr. C. S. Gregson.
Three cases of Coleoptera, in illustration of his Paper. Dianthecia capsophila, Gn., a species new to England.

The following Papers were read:—

I. ON THE COLEOPTERA OF THE DISTRICT AROUND LIVERPOOL: GEODEPHAGA,* *by Mr. C. S. Gregson.*

II. ON THE COMMERCIAL ESTIMATION OF ALCOHOL IN WINE, *by N. Mercer, F.C.S.*

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*3rd January*, 1861. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected ordinary members of the Society:—

Hermann Baar, Ph.Dr., 15, Sandon street.
George Jones, 36, Hanover street.
Edward Samuelson, Huyton.
John Wilson, 30, West Derby street.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society.
Transactions of the Ossianic Society for the year 1857, vol. v.

From the Society.
Proceedings of the Liverpool Architectural and Archæological Society, 1858-59.

From the Manchester Corporation.
Eighth Annual Report to the Council of the City of Manchester on the Working of the Public Free Libraries, October, 1860.

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* Transactions, p. 33.

From Signor G. M. Ferri.

A small lachrymatory, and a large and a small two-handled patera of Etruscan ware; also twenty-six coins, in copper and silver, from Saracenic stations in the Island of Sicily.

From Dr. Kendrick.

A copy of the Portland vase from the mould of Pechler, the celebrated gem engraver, taken before the original was broken in the British Museum. It had, however, previously sustained a fracture, as noticed by Wedgwood; and this is shewn in the present specimen.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. H. E. Smith.

A copper-plate of a Doncaster tradesman, used a century ago in illustrating his tobacco-wrappers. The reverse bears as an emblem of Virginia, instead of the Virgin Queen, a portrait of a young virgin of the period, whose hair is arranged much in the manner now prevailing, thus shewing an instance of the revolving cycle of fashion.

By Miss Smith, of Seacombe.

A portion of the hair of King Edward the Fourth, secured by one of the workmen when the vault in which that monarch and his queen (Elizabeth Woodville) had been buried was discovered, March 13th, 1789, a particular account of which event is given in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iii.

By Mr. J. R. Hughes.

A curious volume, preserved in Anglesea, called "Llyfr y Bardd "coch," never yet printed. It is frequently resorted to for the settlement of disputed boundaries, and contains a fine collection of pedigrees.

By Dr. Kendrick.

A document dated "Carlile, June 29th, 1690," requiring all postmasters in Scotland to supply the bearer with horses to Portpatrick, he being a special messenger to King William III, then in Ireland.

By the Chairman.

A series of gold torques, collars, rings &c., found in Ireland; a collection of gold Etruscan ornaments, consisting of necklaces, ear-rings, finger-rings &c.; curious gold chasings by Michael Moser; a chess-man, made of the tooth of a sea-horse about the middle of the sixth century, found whilst making sewers in Salisbury in 1846; and an elaborately worked ivory vase, part of the "loot" taken in the Indian mutiny.

The following Paper was read:—

On Educational Tests of the qualifications of Candidates for Public Offices, *by J. T. Towson, F.R.G.S.*

## 10*th January*, 1861. LITERARY SECTION.

WM. BURKE, Esq., Treasurer, in the Chair.

The following donations were presented :—

From the Society.
Journal of the Statistical Society, vol. xxiii.

From the Society.
Transactions of the Ethnological Society, vol. i, part 1.

From the Society.
Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, second series, vol. xv, part 2.

The following objects of interest were exhibited :—

By Dr. Hume.
Photographs, executed by Mr. Keith, of the three Addresses presented to Mr. William Brown on the opening of the Free Public Library, by the Five Learned Societies, the Commercial Associations, and the Working Men of Liverpool respectively.

The following Paper was read :—

ON THE POPULAR CUSTOMS AND SUPERSTITIONS OF LANCASHIRE, PART III,* *by T. T. Wilkinson, F.R.A.S.*

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## 17*th January*, 1861. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

WILLIAM BROWN, Esq., V.P., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented :—

From Mr. Mayer.
Essays on Archæological Subjects, by Thos. Wright, M.A., F.S.A.

From the Author.
A sequel to the North-west Passage, &c., a Review, by John Brown, F.R.G.S.

From the Publisher.
Poor Rabbin's Ollminick for the Town 'o' Bilfawst, for 1861, being an Illustration of the Dialect of Ulster.

From Mr. Wilkinson.
The Lady's and Gentleman's Diary for 1861.

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* Transactions, p. 1.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. Towson.

1. A minute model of a field-piece, complete in all respects, and weighing only the thirtieth part of a grain, the manufacture of the exhibiter.
2. A small pyramid-shaped ornament made from the only piece of the capstan of the Royal George saved from the fire at Plymouth dock yard in 1840.

By Mr. De Walden.

A portrait in oils, supposed to be original, of the Honorable Robert Boyle.

The following Papers were read:—

I. ILLUSTRATIONS OF THERMAL INFLUENCE ON THE DIRECTION OF THE WIND, DERIVED FROM THE FIRE AT PLYMOUTH DOCK-YARD IN 1840, *by J. T. Towson, F.R.G.S.*

II. A HISTORIC SKETCH OF THE HUNDRED OF WIRRAL IN CHESHIRE, WITH NOTICES OF THE CURIOUS CHARITIES KNOWN AS THE "COW CHARITIES," *by the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L.*

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*7th February*, 1861. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected ordinary members of the Society:—

William Bartlett, 22, North John street.
John Otto William Fabert, 15, Nile street.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Archæologia Æliana, No. 17.

From the Author.
Statistical Papers based on the Census of England and Wales, 1851, relating to the Occupations of the People, and the Increase of Population 1841-51, by Thomas A. Welton, F.S.S.

From M. De Perthes.
L'Abbevillois, French newspaper, for the 1st February, 1861.

From Mr. Towson.
Remarks illustrative of the sounding-voyage of H.M.S. *Bulldog* in 1860, Captain Sir F. Leopold McClintock commanding.

From the Editor.
Autobiography of the Rt. Hon. Sir Richard Cox, Bart., Lord Chancellor of Ireland, from the original MS. Edited by Richard Caulfield, B.A.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. McQuie.

1. Two coloured views of Liverpool, 1797, and a folio volume, 1801, by John Thomas Serres.
2. Pilkington's Dictionary of Painters, with numerous engraved portraits of Artists of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.
3. Eight curious engravings, including a bird's-eye view of Rostock, &c., executed in the 16th century.

By Mr. Newton.

An illuminated volume of early date, in vellum, and, in contrast with it, an illuminated edition of a modern Poem.

The following Paper was read:—

ON THE EARLIEST APPLICATION OF THE EXPANSIVE AND EXPLOSIVE POWERS OF STEAM TO THE PURPOSES OF SUPERSTITION, *by William Bell, Ph.Dr.*

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## 14*th February*, 1861. LITERARY SECTION.

JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected ordinary members of the Society:—

Robert McGill, Copperas hill, St. Helens.
John Mortimer Wilson, Hardshaw street, St Helens.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society.
Proceedings of the Royal Society, Nos. 39 to 42.

From the Society.
Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, No. 65.

From the Author.
De l'Homme Antédiluvien et de ses Œuvres, par M. de Perthes.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Frederick Taylor, Esq.

Three Chinese maps; various articles of Japanese costume; five large coloured illustrations of persons and costumes, printed on fine cotton; a box of birds' nests from which the Chinese make their celebrated soup.

By Mr. Bloxam.

A copy of Cocker's Arithmetic, published 150 years since, with a curious preface.

The following Paper was read:—

HISTORIC PARALLELS,* *by David Buxton, F.R.S.L., Hon. Librarian.*

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* Transactions, p. 167.

21*st February*, 1861. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

WILLIAM BURKE, Esq., Treasurer, in the Chair.

Mr. John Mills, Middle School, Warrington, was duly elected an ordinary member of the Society.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society.
Proceedings, vol. iv., No. 5; and Journal, vol. xxx, of the Royal Geographical Society.

From the Society.
Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny and South East of Ireland Archæological Society, N. S., Nos. 28 to 30.

From the Author.
Geology of the Lake district, illustrated by a coloured map, by A. Craig Gibson, F.S.A.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. G. M. Browne.
1. Map of the Seat of War in New England, 1775.
2. Three views of Liverpool of various dates in the last century; and one of the ancient tower and spire of St. Nicholas's Church.
3. Specimens of the iron-sand found at Taranaki, New Zealand, and of European and West Indian iron-stone.

The following Paper was read:—

TRANSLATIONS OF THE GREEK BIBLICAL PAPYRUS MSS. IN MR. MAYER'S MUSEUM, *by C. Simonides, Ph.Dr.*

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*7th March*, 1861. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society.
Extrait des Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord, 1859; viz.:—Orthographes de quelques anciens noms propres nordiques. The Northmen in Iceland: Remarks on a Treatise of G. W. Dasent, Esq., D.C.L., by Grímur Thomsen. Séance annuelle de la S. R. des Antiquaires du Nord, le 14 Mai, 1859.

From the Society.
Bulletins de la Société Archéologique de l'Orléanais, 1860, Nos. 35 and 36.

From the Author.

Observations on discoveries of Roman remains and the site of a Roman military position in Sedbury, Gloucestershire; and on the identity of the Chapelry of St. Briavel's—the Lidneia Parva of the 12th century—with the Ledenei of Domesday, by George Ormerod, D.C.L., F.R.S.

From the Author.

Hachettes diluviennes du bassin de la Somme. Par M. L'Abbé Cochet.

From the Editor.

The Archæological Mine, part 42, edited by A. J. Dunkin.

From Sir Henry E. Dryden, Bart.

A Lithographic Print of the four sides of Copplestone Cross, North Devon.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. Henderson.

1. A bronze medal of Pope Alexander VII.
2. A bronze medal of the Earl of Pembroke.
3. Various Roman Coins.
4. Twelve Roman Silver Coins found December, 1861, by workmen, digging for a Railway on the South bank of the Eden, about a mile and a half below Carlisle, and near to that part of the Roman wall which began on that side of the river and extended to Bowness, or Port Carlisle on the Solway. The earliest of these Coins was a second Vespasian.

By Mr. Burke.

1. A finely preserved volume, containing a copy of the Bible, "imprinted at London by Christopher Barker," 1599: "The "Book of Common Prayer," 1641; "The Genealogies recorded "in the Sacred Sriptures according to every Family and Tribe," 1638; "A briefe Concordance," 1652; "The Book of Psalmes," with tunes.
2. Also, a copy of the Version of the Bible, "Imprinted at London "by Robert Barker in 1606," with a briefe Table of the Interpre- "tation of the Proper Names which are chiefly found in the Old "Testament," and "The whole Booke of Psalmes," 1604, with the tunes.

By Mr. Blackmore.

A Roman bronze figure of Venus, between six and seven inches in height, being a reduced *replica* of the celebrated statue of the Venus de' Medici.

The following Paper was read:—

On the Roman Penates-manufactory at Moulins, *by Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., V.P.*

## 14*th March*, 1861. LITERARY SECTION.

WILLIAM BROWN, ESQ., V.P., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society.
Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool, 1859-60, No. xiv.

From the Society.
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. xviii, part 1, 1860.

From the Editor.
The Levant Quarterly Review of Literature and Science, No. 1; Constantinople, July, 1860.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Mr. Newton.
A Map of the County of Chester, taken from an Atlas dated 1650; and, from the same work, a Map of England in which Liverpool is not mentioned.

By Dr. Hume.
Numerous rubbings of Monumental Brasses.

The following Paper was read:—

METALLIC ORNAMENTS AND ATTACHMENTS; AS SHEWN ON MONUMENTAL BRASSES, *by the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L.*

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## 21*st March*, 1861. SCIENTIFIC SECTION.

WILLIAM BROWN, ESQ., V.P., in the Chair.

Mr. Thomas Shaw Petty was duly elected an ordinary Member of the Society.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society.
Journal of the Royal Dublin Society, Nos. 18 and 19, 1860.

From the Society.
Proceedings of the Geological and Polytechnic Society of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1859.

From the Society.
Journal of the Manchester and Liverpool Agricultural Society for 1861.

From Mr. Moss.
Three Liverpool Play Bills, dated 1788, 1790 and 1792 respectively.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Dr. Hume.
1. Several War Clubs, Shields, &c., from Australia.
2. Angus's South Australia, illustrated.

By Mr. Towson.
Drawings &c., in illustration of his Paper.

The following Paper was read:—

On the Ethnography of Australia, *by J. T. Towson, F.R.G.S.*

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11*th April*, 1861. LITERARY SECTION.

Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Smithsonian Institution.
Smithsonian Report, 1858.

From the Society.
Journal of the Statistical Society, Vol. xxiii, Parts 2 to 4.

From the Author.
A Lunar Tidal-Wave in the North American Lakes, demonstrated by Lieut.-Col. J. D. Graham, U.S. Topographical Engineers, 1861.

From the Author.
"Barrow's Travels in China," investigated by W. J. Proudfoot.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Dr. Hume.
Various Engravings from Brass-rubbings in the County of Norfolk.

By Mr. Fabert.
Six Maps of England and part of Scotland, dated 1676.

The following Paper was read:—

Popular Rhymes and Proverbs connected with Localities in Cumberland,* *by A. Craig Gibson, F.S.A.*

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2*nd May*, 1861. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SECTION.

Lieut.-Gen. the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, President, in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected ordinary Members of the Society:—

Frederick J. Jeffery, 11, Lodge Lane.
Rev. R. Leicester, A.M., Parsonage, Woolton.

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* Transactions, p. 45.

The following donations were presented:—

From the Society.
Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. xxix, 1859.

From the Society.
Original Papers published by the Norfolk and Norwich Archæological Society, vol. vi, part 1.

From the Society.
Journal of the Society of Arts, Nos. 369 to 440.

From the Society.
Transactions, vol. xxii, part 1, and Proceedings, No. 49, of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

From the Academy.
Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xxiv, part 1—Science.

From the Numismatic Society.
The Numismatic Chronicle, March, 1861, New Series, No. 1.

From the Institution.
Report of the Liverpool Royal Institution, 1860-61.

From the Author.
The Plurality of Inhabited Worlds, by J. P. Joule, LL.D., F.R.S. &c.

From Mr. T. Dawson.
A coloured lithograph of old Shaw's Brow, the site of the New Free Public Library.

The following objects of interest were exhibited:—

By Dr. Hume.
Specimens of native gold, from Yass, New South Wales.

By Mr. T. Dawson.
1. A MS. volume of letters, written in 1742-43, by Foster Cunliffe, of Liverpool.
2. The poll of the Liverpool Election, 1754.
3. A collection of pamphlets, containing also a sketch by J. Gibson, sculptor, about 1813.
4. A list of persons in Liverpool assessed, in 1780, "under an Act "for inlighting and cleansing the said town, and for keeping and "maintaining a nightly watch there; being twelve pence in the "pound on houses, and twenty shillings for every £100 stock or "personal estate."

The following Paper was read:—

Sketch of the History of the Liverpool Blue Coat Hospital,* Part II., *by Mr. John R. Hughes.*

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* Transactions, p. 71.

### 9*th May*, 1861. MISCELLANEOUS MEETING.

JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A., V.P., in the Chair.

This meeting was held in the Chairman's Museum of Antiquities, and was attended by several hundreds of ladies and gentlemen, who after inspecting the various objects of interest, assembled in the principal room, when the following Papers were read:—

I. ON A GOLD PLATE, EMBOSSED WITH HIEROGLYPHICS, IN THE MUSEUM OF JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A. &c.,* *by C. Simonides, Ph. Dr.*

II. SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ART OF ENGRAVING ON GEMS, *by the Chairman.*

# APPENDIX.

### 27*th July*, 1861. SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING.

On the above date the Annual Excursion took place. The members with their Friends, including several ladies, took their departure in the morning by railway from Birkenhead, and proceeded in the first instance to Beeston Castle, the ruins of which were explored, the Rev. Dr. Hume, Honorary Secretary, giving, on the spot, an interesting detail of the various events of historical note connected with the building. From all sides of the ruin a magnificent view of the surrounding country, extending in almost all directions for many miles, was presented, several of the principal buildings of Chester, the river Mersey and other distant objects being distinctly visible. From thence the party passed, by a pleasant walk through the fields, to Peckforton Castle, a noble modern red sandstone building, one of the country seats of Mr. Tollemache, M.P. for South Cheshire, by whose kind permission the party were escorted over the interior; and having inspected the numerous works of art contained in it, including various pictures by Vandyke, Rembrandt, Gainsborough, Sir Joshua Reynolds &c., took their way to Bunbury Church. After having examined the interior the excursion party returned to Chester, where a numerous company dined at the Queen's Hotel, the Chair being occupied by Joseph Mayer, Esq., one of the Vice-Prosidents of the Society. The usual loyal toasts, and sentiments appropriate to the occasion, having been proposed and responded to, the party took the return train to Birkenhead.

* Transactions, p. 305.

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